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Vietnam's Nguyen Co Thach Concludes Visit

AU281409 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Dec 87

[Text] Nguyen Co Thach, Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, concluded his official and friendly visit to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania at the invitation of Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs. He and the persons accompanying him left today.

The Vietnamese guests were bid farewell at the airport by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Jovan Bardhi, minister of the foodstuffs industry, and by officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other departments.

Syrja Laze, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; and Le Ngoc Thanh, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, were also present.

Commissions Conclude Work for Assembly Session

AU251441 Tirana ATA in English 0843 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—The Permanent Planning and Budget Commission, the Juridical Commission and the Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly convened these days. Attending their meetings were Comrade Rita Marko, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, as well as Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly.

The Planning-Budget Commission, presided over by Luan Muhameti, analyzed the fulfillment of the plan and budget of 1987 and examined the draft plan and draft budget of the coming year on the basis of the reports by the chairman of the State Planning Commission, Niko Gjyzari; the minister of finances, Andrea Nako; and the general director of the State Bank, Kamber Myftari. There were brought to the fore the achievements of this year in fulfilling the plans in some branches and important products of the economy as in the iron nickel extracting industry, in the copper and coal one, in the engineering and chemical industry, in the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, in some sectors of the light and foodstuffs industry, in transport, in construction and in some agricultural and livestock products and in elevating the level of the supply and services to the people.

The Juridical Commission, presided over by Dashuri Gjunkshi, examined the draft laws and decrees to be presented to the People's Assembly. Likewise, it listened to and discussed on the report of the chairman of the High Court, Aranit Cela, "On the quality of judging civil questions and the results attained in this direction."

The Commission of Foreign Affairs convened. It was presided over by Comrade Foto Cami. It discussed on the possibilities existing for the intensive development of trade relations of our country with different countries not only as a factor of mutual economic profit but also as a factor of strengthening the friendly relations among peoples.

At these meetings the commissions examined beforehand also the materials to be presented at the 2nd session of the People's Assembly, analyzed their annual activity and approved the work program for 1988.

People's Assembly Convenes 28 December

AU281558 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] The second session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly began its proceedings this morning at 0900. The deputies and guests applaud the entrance of Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; AWP Central Committee Politburo members Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Manush Myftiu, Muho Asllani, Pali Miska, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani; AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate members Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, Qirjako Mihali, and Vangjel Cerrava.

Petro Dode, chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, who opened the session, presented the following agenda for approval:

1. Report of the Council of Ministers on the fulfillment of the 1987 plan and on the 1988 draft plan for the development of the economy and culture.

2. Report of the Council of Ministers on the expected implementation of the 1987 state budget and on the draft state budget for 1988.

3. Bill on the 1988 state plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

4. Bill on the 1988 state budget.

5. Bill on the servicing and protection of the vegetation.

6. Decrees issued by the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The agenda was approved unanimously by the deputies.

Academic Cites Discrimination in Macedonia

AU231734 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Dec 87 pp 2-3

[Excerpts of article by Kosovo Academician Rexhep Qosja, published originally in the Croatian journal DANAS of 24 November 1987: "The Crisis Maligns the Spirit—The Reason Why Academician Rexhep Qosja Reprimands Gane Todorovski"]

[Text] The Croatian journal DANAS of 24 November 1987 publishes an article by Kosovo Academician Rexhep Qosja, which states among other things:

In that part of the interview published in DANAS of 10 November 1987, which was taken from the newspaper BORBA of 3 November 1987, Gane Todorovski, poet and historian of literature, has fired a political salvo at me that is unprecedented between people engaged in polemics. Among other things, he has described me as a "macedonophobe" and as an "eloquent anti-Yugoslav" academician. He has chosen an appropriate time, when a unit of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs has been dispatched to Kosovo, to accusate a colleague, perhaps in the hope not only that it will be carefully noted, but, as such, that it will also be read attentively. What can one do? Gane Todorovski is not the first author who has tried to liquidate a colleague politically. Such things have happened in difficult times. It appears that difficult times have returned once again for some people: The economic, political, and moral crisis maligns the spirit of certain authors and we must therefore not be surprised to hear with increased frequency—even among such authors—voices seeking political victims in order to satisfy their rabid passions.

What are the sins that I have committed and with which Gane Todorovski would like to make me close the mouth that I have just opened? For what sins does he seek to take away from me the only thing that I have left: the by now mutilated right to publish?

Gane Todorovski has attacked me because, first in my interview with DELO of Ljubljana of 9 February 1987 and then in my article published in DANAS of 31 March 1987, I dared to say a few words about the discrimination now being exercised against the Albanian language and culture in the SR of Macedonia. Gane Todorovski is angered by the fact that Yugoslav public opinion had the opportunity on that occasion to learn that measures are being adopted in Macedonia against Albanian culture and language, which run counter to the spirit of contemporary civilization; that Albanians are being compelled to write geographical names pertaining to that republic in the Macedonian language, therefore being prevented from writing these names in the way that they have been written for centuries on end in their own language; that Albanians are not permitted to give to their newborn children names of personalities from their own history and cultural tradition, which are by now recognized the world over; that the largest part of Albanian popular songs (historical, epical, erotic, and so forth), which were sung freely even at the times of Sultan Hamid or Aleksander Karagergovic, have been removed from the repertoire of Macedonian radio stations and Skopje Television. He is angry with me because—as he himself writes in DANAS and BORBA—being a Macedonian he, so to speak, finds it "easier to reconcile himself with the denigrating label of being a second-hand nation," than to hear the truth about "the oppression of the Albanian minority in Macedonia."

Nevertheless, the labels applied to me by Gane Todorovski are not his invention alone nor are they the only ones used by certain Macedonian intellectuals, and not only in interviews, when referring to their Albanian colleagues.

Judging by what is being written in the press in Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, and Albanian, the method of labelling the Albanians in Macedonia has been raised to a level of "perfection." The application of such labels, whose intention is to achieve moral and political liquidation, is made mostly against teachers, pupils, activists, and some other Albanian citizens. Labels are being applied at all times and on all occasions: weddings and other joyful occasions, at funerals, when they visit each other, when they refuse to relinquish being educated in their native language; in other words they are being labelled whether they speak out or remain silent!

Thus, their being labelled has become a part of their fate, it has become a call of the hunter's horn when they are being hunted, which in most cases results either in their expulsion from the LC, temporary banning from their job, the loss of their job for an indefinite period, or with their being sentenced for infringement. And if nothing can be found concerning their present activity, the zealot bureaucracy will try to dig into their past, even their distant past, in order to be able to label and accuse them. Therefore, for example, a number of teachers, pupils, and activists in Tetove were sentenced after a "delay" of one year, because they had attended a wedding at which—it is said—"nationalist" songs had been sung. The eight members of the orchestra, and five other men and three women, including one who was still breast-feeding her infant, were sentenced to 60 days in prison, because they had sung such songs. But what kind of songs?

They are popular songs which offend no one, express no negative sentiments, and denigrate no one. These songs can be heard daily on Pristina Radio-Television. They are "nationalist" only because they create a "national atmosphere" in the ears of the bureaucracy! As if the songs of other peoples do not create a national atmosphere and since this national atmosphere is supposedly negative and, consequently, a punishable sentiment.

The most tragic example is that of a sociopolitical worker who had for years been elected to high positions in the republic and has now been expelled from the LC and

discharged from his position because he had participated in the celebrations on the occasion of Scanderbeg's 500th anniversary in Pristina in 1968! Schoolchildren are also not exempted from such labelling, regardless of their age. The latest case is that described in BORBA of 7-8 November 1987, which states that, in addition to nine teachers who have been banned from teaching for an "indefinite period," 26 pupils have also been expelled from a school in Kumanove, because they had protested against a decision that lessons should not be taught in the Albanian language, but in the Macedonian language.

The measures adopted against teachers and pupils are only a part of he measures now being taken against education in the Albanian language generally, leading to the inexplicable reduction of the school network in this language. Out of approximately 80,000 children enrolled in the Albanian-language elementary schools, only about 7,800 manage to reach the first class of secondary schools, and out of the latter, only a few more than 1,000 manage to enroll in the first year of a university course. While those 7,800 enrolled in secondary schools until now, had the opportunity of being taught in their native language, this opportunity is now being increasingly restricted. In the SR of Macedonia, the trumpets are now sounding the clarion call about "ethnically-pure schools" in the Albanian language. Meanwhile, even in those cities where the Albanian population constitutes the majority, mixed classes are being created, in which lessons are taught in the Macedonian language, while the pupils of Albanian and Turkish origin learn their mother-tongue in the same way that the Macedonians learn English or French, in other words, like a foreign language. For this reason, young Albanians from the cities of Tetove or Skoplje are now rushing to the secondary schools in the nearest Kosovo cities, in Kacanik and Ferizaj, where they can be taught in Albanian. Although there are approximately 500,000 Albanians in Macedonia, learning in the mother-tongue in this republic has never been possible. The only higher school in Macedonia where teaching took place in the Albanian language, the Pedagogical Academy, has practically ceased to exist recently. Only lectures about Albanian language and literature are now conducted in Albanian, although other subjects are taught in the Macedonian language. Another manifestation serves as a testimony concerning the position of the Albanian language: The Albanian inscriptions on new graves are being written increasingly in the Cyrillic alphabet instead of the Latin (Albanian) alphabet. In addition to the shattering of spiritual and cultural links, the application of the label of "ethnically pure residential areas," in the same way that is being done with "ethnically pure schools," continues to destroy Albanian residential areas in the SR of Macedonia. Nowhere in this state is anyone else bothered by "ethnically pure schools" or even "ethnically pure residential areas" of Serbs, Macedonians, Montengrins, Slovenes, Croats, Moslems, Slovaks, and Ruthenians, but the Macedonian bureaucracy, yes, the Macedonian bureaucracy is bothered by the Albanian ones! The Albanians, "these people with white caps," as they are contemptuously termed in the writings of certain journalists, are the only citizens of this country who are not allowed to become citizens of Skopje, Ohrid, or some other Macedonian cities. They are the only ones who cannot settle in these cities any longer.

Is it perhaps impossible to say that the latest campaign against the natality of the Albanians also serves the same purpose, that is, the disintegration of the common life of the Albanians in Macedonia? It is certainly the right of any society to have a demographic policy of its own, within its general framework. But such a policy must be based on certain humanitarian and moral principles. Judging by what is being said in numerous discussions, such a principled position does not exist in the discussions about the natality of the Albanians, neither in Macedonia nor anywhere else. Such principled positions are also missing in the thinking of certain humanists, poets, and scientists who have gained a reputation by now, but they are certainly missing in the thinking of Gane Todorovski, in particular. In the supplement LIK [to Nova Makedonija] of 29 April 1987, he suggests to his collaborators that "biological expansion" would be a way of silencing the disowners of the Macedonian nation. He states that "on the basis of some historically justified prognoses," one must believe that "when we become a nation of 4-5 million, many elements will be removed from the repertoire of our disowners, therefore, we must go through a necessary stage in our development—the stage of biological expansion..."! What kind of political and intellectual morality is this, which on the one hand permits the natality of the minority to be limited, while stimulating the natality of the majority to the degree of "expansion" on the other hand. When has it happened, and where, that the living are afraid of the unborn children of their own co-citizens? There are many more examples testifying to the violation of the rights and liberties of the Albanians in the SR of Macedonia.

If the aforementioned examples of an institutional position, that is, if the measures adopted against the culture, history, language, education, teachers, pupils, residences, and against the natality of the Albanians are indicative of a policy, then such a policy has its own well-known name: It is a policy of assimilation. That such a policy is contrary to the Constitution of the SFRY, that cannot be doubted. That such a policy is contrary to "The Declaration on Human Rights," and other United Nations documents which has been ratified by the SFRY, this, too, cannot be doubted. That such a policy has no future, that is also beyond any doubt.

I am aware of the danger of speaking these truths, which are bitter to those who bear their consequences, that is, the Albanians, but which are perhaps unpleasant for Gane Todorovski, precisely also because of my sentiments toward the Macedonian people, sentiments which are totally contrary to those attributed to me by that poet and historian of literature in his interviews. I hope that

the respect and affection that I feel for the wealthy spiritual and material culture of the Macedonian people and their sorrowful history are a sufficient testimony of my most sincere feelings for those honest and proud people who have, for centuries on end, shared good and bad with the Albanian people in these troubled meridians of the Balkans. However, respect for the Macedonian people cannot compel anyone to accept the injustices that the Macedonian bureaucracy is currently committing against the Albanians in the SR of Macedonia. On the contrary.

Doctor Reports AIDS Nonexistent in Albania

AU282158 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 20 Dec 87 p 3

[Doctor of Medical Sciences Minella Papajorgji article: "What is AIDS or SIDA?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted is a clinical description of AIDS and its symptoms] The International Symposium held in Paris on 22-23 October 1987 was attended by scientists from 121 countries, including a delegation from our country. It was stressed that in those countries where there are no people diseased with AIDS, as in our country, control and laboratory analyses among people with epidemiological indication (indikacion epidemiologik) and medical propaganda about the disease are the most important measures to be taken. The Ministry of Health created some considerable time ago a working group for the adoption of technical and organizational measures to supervise and keep the infection under complete control, primarily for its supervision in our country.

Leaders' Public Appearances 20-26 December

AU262036 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian and Tirana ATA in English in their broadcasts from 20-26 December report the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received on 26 December Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 26 December)

Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers received on 24 December Nguyen Cop Thach, Vietnamese minister of foreign affairs. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 24 December)

Hajredin Celiku, Lenka Cuko, Besnik Bekteshi, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP Central Committee Politburo members, attended on 25 December a concert in Tirana. (Tirana ATA English 0920 GMT 26 December)

Rita Marko, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly attended meetings of some Permanent Commissions of the People's Assembly. (Tirana ATA English 0843 25 December)

Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member and Tirana District AWP Committee first secretary attended a ceremony on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the Palace of Young Pioneers in Tirana on 20 December. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 20 December)

Pali Miska, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Korce District AWP Committee first secretary attended on 22 December a ceremony on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of a celebrated choir in the city of Korce. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 22 December)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers attended on 24 December a dinner hosted by Foreign Minister Reis Malile for Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. (Tirana ATA English 1116 GMT 25 December)

Foreign Ministry Comments on Events in Israel
AU281940 Sofia BTA in English
1636 GMT 28 Dec 87

["Statement by a Foreign Ministry Spokesman"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—The last days of 1987 have again reminded mankind that despite all resolutions of the United Nations and despite the prevailing world public opinion, the Palestinian people are continuing to be deprived of their homeland and are continuing to live in exile, reads a statement by a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, handed in for publication today.

The bloody confrontation of the Arab population and the repressions by the Israeli Army in the occupied Arab territories, which resulted in human casualties, has again focused mankind's attention on the unresolved Palestinian issue which is in the roots of the Middle East crisis. Only the solving of this problem can make it possible to resolve the Middle East crisis as a whole. It is now more than obvious that the aggressive and arbitrary repressions by the Israeli occupying forces on the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip, as well as Tel Aviv's unceasing threats addressed to its Arab neighbors, cannot solve this key issue. These actions and threats cannot but be qualified as an expression of unconcealed state terrorism. They are a flagrant violation of the UN Charter, the universally accepted norms of international law and the basic human rights, reads the statement.

These conditions further enhance the significance of the Soviet proposal on the calling of an international conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine. There is no doubt that under the current conditions, a conference of this type will be the only realistic instrument that could achieve a just, lasting and all-encompassing peace in this part of the world.

The Bulgarian people, who did not permit the murder of even a single Jew because of his or her national and religious belonging during the darkest years of fascism, call on all those who remember this fact, in Israel and elsewhere, to assist the halting of the repressions and the opening of the way for the granting of the Palestinian people's legitimate right to self-determination and the setting up of their own independent state.

Stanishev, Delegation Return From Africa
AU281425 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Dec 87 p 6

[Text] At the invitation of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania, the Mozambique Liberation Front, the United National Independence Party, and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola—Labor Party, a BCP Central Committee delegation, led by Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, visited the United Republic of Tanzania, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Zambia, and the People's Republic of Angola.

On 23 December the delegation returned to Bulgaria. At Sofia airport it was greeted by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee.

Strezov Appointed Representative to UN
AU281927 Sofia BTA in English
1734 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—The State Council has issued a decree appointing Mr Aleksandur Strezov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, as first deputy minister of foreign affairs and permanent representative of Bulgaria at the United Nations.

Zhivkov, CC Secretariat Meet Star Athletes
AU281944 Sofia BTA in English
1907 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—A meeting of the Secretariat of the BCP CC with famous Bulgarian athletes was held here today.

Greeting the best Bulgarian athletes, Mr Todor Zhivkov said that their achievements during the past year have become a new peak in the history of Bulgarian sport. He said that Bulgaria's athletes have won 26 gold, 9 silver and 24 bronze medals at world championships in 1987, 36 gold medals (out of a total of 80) at European championships. They have set 21 world and 1 European records and have won three world and three European cups. Mr Zhivkov especially commended the achievements of Ms Stefka Kostadinova, the Bulgarian high jumper who has two world records, two world champion titles and two Oscar Prizes to her record, Ms Bianka Panova, the world champion in rhythmic gymnastics, Mr Mikhail Petrov, world champion and world record holder in weightlifting, Ms Vesela Lecheva, world record holder in marksmanship, and Mr Valentin Yordanov, a world champion in wrestling.

Further on in his speech, the Bulgarian party and state leader said that the socialist society in Bulgaria is now being qualitatively restructured. According to him, sport and all other activities which improve the health and physical fitness of the Bulgarian nation, should also be restructured.

Expressing a hope for future successes in sport next year, Mr Zhivkov wished the athletes Olympic titles and medals, the distinctions that are every athlete's dream.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 28 December carries a similar report on the meeting of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat with distinguished Bulgarian athletes, which adds: "The following

comrades attended the meeting: Georgi Atanasov, Grisha Filipov, Milko Balev, Chudomir Aleksandrov, Georgi Yordanov, Vasil Tsanov, Dimitur Stanishev, Emil Khristov, and Stoyan Mikhaylov."]

BCP Daily Reviews Self-Management Progress

AU291147 Sofia BTA in English
1310 GMT 28 Dec 87

["Self-Management—Condition for Qualitatively New Development""—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 28 (BTA)—In 1987 self-management made its first steps in the life of the workteams of this country, RABOTNICHESKO DELO writes today. In its review of the most significant changes which took place in Bulgaria's socioeconomic development in the outgoing year, the daily of the CC of the BCP analyses the experience gained in the one-year application of the principles of self-management in the economy.

Prof Dr of Philosophy Marko Markov stresses that the essence of self-management lies in the bringing closer of the agent and the subject of management, in turning a greater part of the people into its agents. The problem here is not only economic but also a one. People should be given possibilities for social expression, they should be coauthors of managerial decisions and they should not feel as mere performers of the will of others.

The article points out that the first steps in the direction of establishing self-management have already been made and the respective organizational structures have been set up. Now it is necessary for these structures to turn into self-managing social entities.

The process of establishing self-management has also come across some difficulties.

Prof Marko Markov stresses that self-management at each level should be based on interests and the mechanisms of realizing these interests have still not been found. A lot of what is being done for establishing self-management bears signs of appeals and of propaganda estranged from life. The problems here need a normative solution and a new distribution of power between the centre and the lower tiers. The new Regulations for Economic Activity which will come into force in the beginning of 1988 are a step towards actual self-management of the economic organizations.

The article also notes that in socialism self-management cannot be boundless. It is restricted by the principle of centralism, which is determined by the necessity for the problems to be solved on a national level in order to implement the strategic course of the BCP.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO informs that in the first stage of the reports and elections of bodies of self-management at the end of 1986 there more than 51,000 meetings were held in almost 5,500 basic workteams. They include about 2.5 million people and more than 90 per cent of them took part in the meetings. 26 percent of the leaders of the primary workteams were changed after the elections, i.e. 12,983 workteam leaders (87 percent of them were nominated by the leaderships of the enterprises and the candidatures of 13 percent of them were raised by the workteams themselves). 6.35 percent of the directors (i.e. 342 directors) were changed after the elections.

The number of the raised and not elected candidatures is 1,251, of them 1,134 are workteam leaders and leaders of the intermediate units, and 117 are directors of enterprises. Their relative share is 2.2 and 2.1 percent respectively. The average percentage of those who voted "against" is 54.2. 66 percent of the cases of voting down candidates are well-grounded, and in only 7 percent of the cases was there evidence that they are a result of the immaturity of the workteams or of a violation of the procedures.

The newly elected workteam and economic council members form 36.8 and 34.6 percent respectively. The workteam councils include 260,000 people [Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 28 December on page 3, in the report quoted here, gives the figure "230,000"] and almost all of them are workers. Two-thirds of the participants in the general meetings and in the meetings of delegates of the workers were workers. In the economic councils their percentage is 51.9 percent or about 42,000 people.

Legal, Administrative Services Changes Urged

AU241926 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] Today a joint session of the National Assembly's Legislative and People's Councils and Local Self-Management Commissions discussed the results of the inspection carried out on the state of the administrative and legal services to the population.

It was stated that a number of people's councils, departments, and organizations are continuing to underestimate the importance of specialized units for administrative and legal services, and to underrate the application of the service principle in performing these services. Others are establishing autonomous services systems that do not conform to the requirements concerning compatibility and integration. The issues of the production and supply of the necessary equipment and low cadre qualifications have not been resolved. These are some of the reasons that are delaying the formation of the uniform system for administrative and legal services to the population, through which most of the problems can be solved.

The decision adopted by the commissions outlines specific measures for introducing unity into the organization, technologies, and the information, software, and technical provisions of the administrative and legal services.

Following the new territorial-administrative division of the country, the need was emphasized for the municipalities and townships to become the basic units for providing services to the country's population. Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, took part in the work of the session.

Leaders' Public Appearances 20-26 December

AU262100 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 20-26 December monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Todor Zhivkov, Georgi Atanasov, and Vasil Tsanov took part in a national meeting of party, state, and economic leaders in Sofia on 25 December on plan implementation and reorganization in 1988 (Sofia BTA in English 1818 GMT 25 Dec 87).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Pencho Kubadinski, Petur Dyulgerov, and Grigor Stoichkov took part in a public meeting held in Sofia's Georgi Kirkov Hall on 25 December on the preparations for the nation-wide municipal elections to be held on 28 February 1988 (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 25 Dec 87).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met a delegation from the National Front of Afghanistan during its 1-week visit to Bulgaria that ended on 20 December (Sofia BTA in English 1807 GMT 20 Dec 87).

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, also had a meeting with the delegation from the National Front of Afghanistan that left Bulgaria on 20 December (Sofia BTA in English 1807 GMT 20 Dec 87). In Sofia on 24 December he chaired a joint session of the National Assembly's Legislative and People's Councils and Local Self-Management Commissions (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 24 Dec 87).

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, who visited India at the head of a Bulgarian trade union delegation, returned to Sofia on 20 December (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 20 Dec 87).

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, met Talyzin and other deputy premiers of the USSR during a visit to Moscow from 21 through 24 December (Sofia BTA in English 1844 GMT 24 Dec 87).

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, who has been visiting Africa at the head of a BCP Central Committee delegation, met leaders of the South-West African People's Organization in Angola on 21 December (Sofia BTA in English 1948 GMT 21 Dec 87) and was received by the president of Angola in Luanda on 22 December (Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 22 Dec 87).

Sterba Replaces Urban as Trade Minister

LD281427 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, has appointed Jan Sterba, a minister in the federal government, and placed him in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Trade. Afterwards, the newly appointed minister was sworn in, as prescribed by the Constitution of the Czechoslovak Federation, in Prague Castle.

Jan Sterba was installed in his office today by Lubomir Strougal, federal prime minister.

Comrade Husak today also received, in Lubomir Strougal's presence, Bohumil Urban, Czech first deputy premier and chairman of the Czech Planning Commission. He thanked him for his work while in charge of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and wished him many successes in his new post.

Further Reportage on CPCZ CC Session

Cadre Policy Resolution

AU281951 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 87 p 3

["Resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee on Improving Cadre Policy," approved by the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 18 December]

[Text] The 17th CPCZ Congress adopted the strategy of accelerating economic, social, and societal development based primarily on an intensive application of scientific-technical progress. It stressed the essential need to raise the performance and efficiency of the national economy and to more effectively mobilize all our material and spiritual potentials. To implement the set line, it laid down the task of markedly improving the quality and effectiveness of party work and perfecting the forms of socialist production and social relations by restructuring the economic mechanism, deepening socialist democracy, and increasing the participation of the working people in the management of society.

The qualitatively new, revolutionary requirements call for a further improvement of cadre work on the basis of a creative development of the Leninist principles of cadre policy, which continue to be one of the main instruments of enacting the party's leading role and a prerequisite of society's dynamic development.

Throughout the period of building socialism, the Communist Party has devoted great attention to the work with cadres. Many competent cadres dedicated to the party and socialism have been elevated to functions in party and state agencies, National Front organizations, and other sectors. Their composition in terms of educational standards, social and class structure, nationality, and age structure has improved. An important role was played by the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium "On Cadre and Personnel Work" of 6 November 1970, which was confirmed by the 14th CPCZ Congress. Along with the "Lessons Drawn from the Crisis Development in the Party and Society After the 13th CPCZ Congress" and the "Resolution on Topical Questions of Party Unity" it set out the fundamental political points of departure for restoring and developing Leninist norms in cadre work. At party congresses, sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, and in the activity of its agencies, questions of cadre policy have always occupied an important place.

Despite generally positive results in the work with cadres, inconsistency in implementing party resolutions and low demands on senior officials are making themselves felt in many places. The selection, training, assignment, and evaluation of cadres do not always conform with the growing needs and requirements. The underrating of the political importance of managerial activity and of the need to continuously improve both professional and political qualifications lingers on. This is the source of manifestations of technocratism and administrative methods in work. Elements of subjectivism continue to occur in cadre work while public control of cadres and their criticism and self-criticism are not sufficiently developed. This results in the trailing behind and stagnation of many senior officials and their slow adaptation to current tasks. A more resolute struggle must also be waged against violations of legality, ethics, and discipline in the spirit of the Letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium of 1983 and appropriate conclusions must be drawn more resolutely.

I. The CPCZ's cadre policy pursues the aim of utilizing society's broad social base and the educational standards and abilities of the workers class, cooperative farmers, and the intelligentsia, of all strata of the working people; elevating the most committed and best qualified staff to senior posts; and continuously promoting people's creative activity and their direct participation in tackling the problems of social life.

The aim of the party's cadre policy is to ensure on a permanent basis that all components of party, state, economic, and social activity be headed by people with the requisite class-political, professional, and moral qualities and character traits, people who are capable of resolutely and creatively implementing the CPCZ's and the socialist state's policy, of guiding work collectives, and of relying on their support. Serving as the criterion of the cadres' qualifications is the quality of their work, the results of the sector entrusted to them. The party will give support to highly efficient cadres who are actively involved in the implementation of the strategic line of accelerating socioeconomic development, in the process of restructuring and democratization of all walks of society's life.

The moral-political qualities of cadres must be assessed by applying highly exacting standards. The requirement must be enforced that the higher the post someone holds,

the higher standards must be applied to his exemplary conduct. Senior posts cannot be occupied by people who violate existing laws or whose way of life and whose conduct are at odds with socialist ethics.

The growth of the party's leading role in society requires that party agencies be staffed with the most active communists, those who are bound up with the life of the people, who are exponents of new approaches in work, and who are distinguished by their initiative, activity, and the ability to promote and correctly channel the social activity of the working people.

The effectiveness of the work of all party agencies is conditional on their being purposefully replenished with comprehensively qualified functionaries, functionaries who have proven their worth in specific jobs, are capable of uniting the efforts of communists in line with the party statutes, and of imbuing party activity with political firmness, ideological conviction, profoundly democratic principles, and a high level of discipline.

In shaping their apparatus party agencies must see to the practical experience and the ideological, political, and professional qualifications of their staff. Great emphasis must be placed particularly on the development of their creative Marxist-Leninist thinking and on the correct application of political methods of guidance. An important prerequisite is the ability to analyze the situation, to see the profound integral linkage of all aspects of social development, to enlist the working people for the party's policy, to organize the implementation and control of resolutions under the guidance of elected agencies, and to work under conditions of deepening socialist democracy and the work collectives' self-management.

From the cadres in the central sphere the party requires broad social horizons, a high level of expertise, and an initiative-filled contribution to improving the activity of all segments of the political system, of the agencies of state administration, and, above all, to ensuring high efficiency of our economy by way of intensification based on the promotion of economic instruments of management, rational organization, adherence to the plan, and a rapid application of science and the latest technology and technological processes. In order to determine well in advance the strategy for the development of a given branch under the conditions of the international division of labor and socialist economic integration, it is necessary to systematically raise the level of expertise and the abilities of these cadres. Central agencies must be replenished with cadres who have proven their worth in lower-level agencies and who by dint of their abilities demonstrate their prerequisites for contributing to a general improvement in the quality of central management.

The top executives of economic organizations must be distinguished by their professional qualifications, socialist entrepreneurial spirit, and the ability to work with the people, to mobilize all creative potentials for the fulfillment of national tasks, a resolute acceleration of scientific-technical progress, and the accomplishment of a high efficiency and quality of production. Along with the work collectives' agencies they must display initiative in making use of the opportunities arising from the restructuring of the economic mechanism, in ensuring the fulfillment of tasks in conjunction with an active social policy, and in enforcing the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work."

The party proceeds in its cadre policy from the Leninist principle of democratic centralism, from the need to further deepen the principle of collectiveness in cadre-related decisions, to reinforce objectivity, and to promote the public control of all cadres by way of regular rendering of account for one's work before party agencies and organizations, the work collectives, and the voters. The process of restructuring presupposes a further expansion of democratic forms, the introduction of self-management principles in the life of work collectives, the deepening of working people's participation in management, the development of their initiative and responsibility, and the reinforcement of order and discipline.

The acceleration of socioeconomic development is the concern of all people, all classes and social strata, all nations and ethnic minorities. A permanent principle [of cadre policy] is the promotion to responsible jobs of the most committed and best qualified personnel—communists, people who are not affiliated to any party, or members of other political parties. Continuous attention must be devoted to selecting and training workers cadres and to assigning them to functions, especially to functions in the political system.

A weighty social task is the creation of political and, in particular, social conditions for a broader involvement in managerial activity of women and young and talented, purposefully trained people. This requires that party, state, and economic agencies establish an integrated system of their specific preparation, of testing their abilities, and of gradually promoting them to higher functions.

Cadre policy must ensure in all sectors of social life essential continuity and purposeful exchange of cadres, it must establish prerequisites for the continuous influx of new people to managerial agencies. It is necessary to monitor and responsibly assess the impact of remaining in a function over a long period on one's overall work performance and personal authority. While preserving continuity, it is necessary in the interest of the party, society, and the cadres' growth to thoughtfully organize their alternation among individual levels of management and, where appropriate, also among individual spheres of activity. They must never be allowed to become arrested in their development and to stagnate. Where senior officials do not come up to the growing requirements, are losing their self-critical and critical attitude,

do not behave as representatives of the party and the socialist society, there it is necessary to carry out cadre changes, sensitively, yet without delay. The deepening of internal party democracy along with the growing demands on cadres require that the accumulation of political, state, and economic functions be responsibly weighed in each individual case.

II. The decisive responsibility for the implementation of the party's cadre policy in all spheres of social life is borne by party agencies and organizations.

The new conditions and needs require an amendment of the party agencies' cadre slates [kadrove poradky] and, under the CPCZ Statutes, also of the primary party organizations' catalogues of functions. The responsibility of lower-level party agencies and organizations must be reinforced in accordance with the promotion of democratic principles and the development of self-management. The new cadre slates must delineate and define the criteria to be satisfied by personnel in individual spheres of social life. The scope of cadre slates must be based on the specific political and economic situation, on the requirement to reinforce the principle of collectiveness and the role of elected party agencies, and on the realistic possibility of carrying out exacting work with cadres in its entirety.

The cadre programs must be used as the basis for the development of work with cadres according to plan, notably for their systematic training meeting present requirements. In drawing up the cadre programs it is necessary to proceed from the attained level of qualification, from the conclusions of the comprehensive evaluation of cadres, and from the long-term needs of the development of individual sectors and areas of social activity. The interlinkage must be sought between the cadre programs and the plans of personnel and social development in the state and economic sphere.

The development of socialist self-management enhances the role and responsibility of primary organizations and all-enterprise and enterprise CPCZ committees for implementing cadre policy within the sphere of their activity. Their duty is to participate with greater initiative in the selection and training of cadres; to apply exacting standards in assessing their work results; to see to the development of democratic principles and forms, to the application of class-political and other cadre criteria, and to an active approach to proposing candidates for top economic posts and work collectives' agencies; and to support the election of staff who are capable of asserting national interests, enjoy the working people's trust, and command authority among them.

III. The improvement of cadre work and the promotion and consistent application of democratic principles in selecting, allocating, training, and evaluating cadres call for:

—selecting to functions staff who are comprehensively qualified for the area in question from the viewpoint of education, practice, and professional specialization and who have the requisite moral, political, and character traits,

—basing the promotion to functions on the collective wisdom and stands of party agencies, work collectives, and social organizations of the National Front,

—carrying out the selection of cadres from among a larger number of candidates while using as a point of departure the purposefully prepared reserve pool of cadres in the organization concerned and making use of competition for jobs and of elections of senior personnel.

Decisions on each cadre change must be preceded by:

—a comprehensive evaluation representing an objective assessment of previous work performance and a check of knowledge and abilities. Where specialist cadres are concerned, use must also be made of competence checks,

—comprehensive evaluation of individual candidates' prerequisites and the compilation of the rankings of those candidates who are best suited to meet the requirements of the function in question.

In the area of training, it is necessary to provide for the continuous growth of the qualifications of all cadres, to arm them with new theoretical knowledge, and to see to the growth of their practical experience.

This presupposes further development of the system of life-long preparation of cadres, secured by:

—the school system, including scientific training facilities and post-secondary and postgraduate study,

—educational institutions at government, ministerial, and enterprise level in the form of classes, seminars, group tutorials, and supervised individual study,

—the party school network, including postgraduate studies at the CPCZ Central Committee's Political College and courses at the Academy of Social Sciences subordinate to the CPSU Central Committee,

—the system of party education, notably by its higher specialized forms,

—periods of study at leading scientific and research institutions in the CSSR, the USSR, and other socialist as well as advanced capitalist countries and work-and-study stints in the party apparatus and in state and economic agencies.

To improve the quality of the training of cadres in these forms, it is necessary:

—to lay down binding requirements on political qualifications, expertise, and specialization, depending on the level of management. To make sure that senior staff of the state sphere and higher-level economic cadres receive differentiated training in the extension forms [nastavbove formy] of university studies. Training must primarily focus on mastering the theory and practice of management and on the assimilation of scientific methods of tackling practical problems,

—to see to it that the graduates of the institutions of higher learning are fully qualified socialist cadres with a broad profile, cadres that are capable of creative thinking, continuous self-education, and ready to effectively apply the acquired knowledge in practice,

—to raise the effectiveness of all types of schooling and training courses, to check the level of knowledge obtained in them by means of competence tests, and to consider the results of these tests in further job assignments,

—to make sure that the best pedagogues and representatives of science, exponents of progressive forms and methods of work, and leading party, state, and economic officials take part in the training of managerial cadres.

To ensure that these tasks are met, it is essential that party, state, and economic agencies create the requisite conditions in terms of cadres and organizational and material-technical provisions.

To make members of political agencies and the political staff of the apparatus capable of itemizing and asserting the party line, their training must be geared to the creative assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, of the latest findings of other social sciences, and of the laws governing the development of the socialist society. Above all, it is necessary to promote their ability to generalize new experiences, to respond to problems in due time, to approach them politically, and to tackle them in a committed way.

The preparation of cadres in leading functions, notably those in the national economy, must be organized systematically and at regular intervals, following up on the conclusions of comprehensive evaluations. It must be consistently linked with the fulfillment of specific tasks, with improving managerial activity. We must achieve that they quickly become conversant with the ideological and political points of departure of the strategy of acceleration, of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and other spheres of social life.

Work with the reserve pool of cadres must be improved; cadre reserves must be prepared purposefully, well in advance, and in accordance with the needs of social development, with the needs of individual organizations, sectors, and enterprises. Their political and professional training must be approached in a differentiated fashion. The decisive form of practical training is successful performance in supervisory activity at a lower level of management.

Great demands must be placed on the systematic evaluation of the results of cadres' work in implementing party policy, in discharging work tasks and duties in the sectors entrusted to them. It is necessary to see to it that the evaluations effectively contribute to raising the senior officials' performance and to motivating them in their further activity and that they help improve the quality of the selection, training, and allocation of cadres.

An important place in this process is occupied by the comprehensive evaluations of nomenklatura cadres at all levels and in all sectors, with respect to which it is always essential to:

—comprehensively and objectively assess on the basis of attained results the cadres' competence and their professional prerequisites for discharging the function, their political and moral qualities, their standing in the work collective, and the prospects of their further growth. All manifestations of formalism and subjectivism must be eliminated with greater vigor; positive as well as negative features must be assessed with party openness; and high-principled conclusions must be drawn,

—carry out comprehensive evaluations, as a rule, once every 5 years, in connection with itemizing congress conclusions. Furthermore, they must be carried out prior to the election or appointment to a function, in the event of a long-term nonfulfillment of tasks, and in the event of loss of authority. The results of comprehensive evaluations must also be used as a basis in appraising cadres morally and materially,

—use the control of the implementation of conclusions in order to update and define with greater precision set tasks and to link this control, especially in enterprises, with the end-of-the-year statements on economic performance.

IV. Cadre and personnel work in the state and economic sphere must consistently proceed from the party's cadre policy and secure its effective implementation in line with the contents and the targets of the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism and other spheres of social life.

Considering current requirements, the CSSR Government, the Government of the Czech SR, and the Government of the Slovak SR shall:

—designate the role and the method of supervising cadre and personnel work in the sectors and stipulate specific measures to reinforce these agencies in cadre terms, showing regard for their new standing under the conditions of restructuring,

—along with the other agencies of state administration, ensure the timely preparation of university-educated professionals and specialists in accordance with long-term needs and improve the quality of the education of personnel in workers' professions,

—establish conditions for implementing the system of life-long education and for increasing the qualifications of cadres and the reserve pool of cadres,

—issue guidelines for the selection of cadres by means of competition for jobs and for periodical competence checks of specialists and expert cadres.

Responsibility for cadre work in enterprises and other organizations is borne by their senior staff. Acting in line with the principles of cadre work and under the guidance of party agencies and organizations, they ensure in collaboration with the work collectives' agencies that senior posts are filled with politically mature, professionally qualified, and morally firm personnel. They bear full responsibility for the continuous growth of the cadres' qualifications and the use of their abilities, for the development of talents, and for the effective supervision, political guidance, and education of working people. Together with the work collectives' agencies and in informal collaboration with the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and other social organizations, they see to the fulfillment of the enterprises' social mission in the sphere of the work collectives' personnel and social development. Their foremost obligation is to work toward establishing a good social and political-moral climate and a creative atmosphere in the work collectives.

An important role in the development of work with cadres is played by the cadre and personnel departments. Their chief mission is to ensure comprehensive development of cadre-related activities, notably the everyday specific work with people and the organization of the professional training of cadres and the reserve pool of cadres. They must show greater initiative in helping to apply selection from several variants on the basis of competitions and competence checks. This simultaneously requires the consolidation of these departments in terms of cadres, the reinforcement of the political nature of their work, and a change in the forms and methods of their activity. They must be freed from inappropriate administrative approaches and operations, which divert them from the fulfillment of their basic mission.

The CPCZ Central Committee stresses that the implementation of the line of the 17th party congress and the course of the implementation of the Eighth 5-Year Plan urgently require that all party agencies and organizations, that communists in representative agencies, in the social organizations associated in the National Front, and in the CSSR Government, the Government of the Czech SR, and the Government of the Slovak SR thoroughly assess the cadre situation and, on the basis of this assessment, adopt vigorous and specific measures to improve cadre policy in all spheres of social life.

The CPCZ Central Committee commits party agencies and organizations and all communists to display an active and highly responsible, energetic, and principled approach in translating the set targets of the party's cadre policy into life.

Editorial on Party Document

AU282059 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Document of Extraordinary Significance"]

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee session held toward the end of last week has adopted a document of extraordinary significance—the resolution on the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism and on ways to ensure it. Yesterday's RUDE PRAVO published the full text of the document.

In certain respects the results achieved by our national economy last year, and also this year, are better than in the preceding years; but they still are not up to the planned intentions, and thus they most urgently remind us of how essential it is to prepare a new management system, to determine rights and responsibilities, and to have the working people broadly participate in the energetic solution of all issues and problems. On the other hand, the preliminary results registered to date by the economic production units and enterprises involved in the comprehensive experiment for enhancing the independence of economic organizations and their responsibility for efficient development are a desirable flash of lightning, heralding better times (although we must not consider them sufficiently conclusive, since the testing period was so short).

However, it is exactly because restructuring represents an extraordinary encroachment on the economic structure and economic system, and because a decision about such a step is linked with supreme responsibility (its significance and weight can only be compared to the changes carried out after February 1948), that it is so imperative to acquire far greater experience. That is why the experiment (which this year involves about 10 percent of our industrial production) will be expanded next year to include further organizations and enterprises, and to cover almost 30 percent of our industrial production and also certain non-production sectors. This testifies not only to the well planned and thought out creation of further desirable bridgeheads for the comprehensive restructuring of our economic mechanism, but also to our awareness of the great responsibility toward society.

In the spirit of this responsibility, the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session discussed and passed a "schedule" for the gradual implementation of the economic reform in the years 1988-90. This list of deadlines for the main restructuring tasks sets the dates for gradually implementing the new elements of economic mechanism and for verifying them via experiments; it defines the changes in the orientation of activities and in the organization of the central sphere, as well as of restructuring the organizational structure of our production, scientific-technical, and turnover base; and finally it sets the course to be taken in preparing the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

In this way the document on restructuring becomes not only an economic program, but also a political one, in the deepest sense of the word, since it proceeds from the basic, generally valid principles of socialism, social ownership, production means, planned economic development, and division according to the results of accomplished work; from the essential need to make the working people broadly participate in management; and from the leading role of the workers class and its vanguard, the communist party.

This represents a significant step in the consolidation of the basic principles of socialism, in harmony with the creation of conditions for a further, far more differentiated and qualitatively improved, higher level of the society's development. That is why the restructuring of the economic mechanism is not merely one of the essential prerequisites for achieving the set goals of the party's economic and social policy, but at the same time a prerequisite for expanding and deepening socialist democracy. Restructuring itself significantly assists this process—not only by creating scope for implementing the principles of socialist self-management in the administration of economic organizations, but simultaneously by promoting a new understanding of the role of the state and of the rights and responsibilities of national committees.

Scarcely anybody can oppose such noble intentions. However, it is not sufficient to refrain from opposing them; likewise it is not enough to be in favor of these intentions. Restructuring is not a magic wand which we only have to wave to achieve just about anything. Restructuring and its intentions will not materialize of their own accord; we must exert considerable effort to achieve this, we must literally wage a persistent struggle for restructuring. In fact, restructuring will affect the life and work of all our citizens, it will influence both their habits and the way of life to which they have grown accustomed. And we know very well that one can push through new things solely by grappling with the old —not only in skirmishes of trite significance, but above all in a fight for the basic principles and for their enforcement.

The practical restructuring of the economic mechanism represents a vast, demanding, and complicated complex of issues which will affect all management issues, all spheres of the economy, and all working people. The solution of these issues is all the more complicated, since we can register serious difficulties in the fulfillment of the Eighth 5-Year Plan—because the current management system is losing its efficacy and the growing economic imbalance is aggravating the conditions and prerequisites needed for introducing the new economic mechanism into practice.

That is why we have adopted a sequence of individual-restructuring steps (in terms of their deadlines, forms, and contents) which would bring the orientation and contents of the Ninth 5-Year Plan (1991-95) into full harmony with the new economic mechanism. However, at the same time, the implementation of all new elements must effectively contribute toward our fulfilling the intentions of the present 5-year plan. Certain positive trends are already beginning to appear; they are the result of the enhanced working people's initiative (following the nationwide discussion on the draft laws) and of the experimental testing of the new elements of economic mechanism.

However, first of all it is urgently necessary to inculcate, develop, and consolidate the people's awareness that better economic results, and thus also the prerequisites for a fuller satisfaction of the society's needs, can be reached solely via the creative, honest, and good work of every working person in every workplace. Nobody will give us what we ourselves will not achieve. If we do not produce more honestly and better quality, we will also not procure more reliably and better quality. That is why the entire concept of restructuring is based on the activation of our people—on the imperative need to establish the most favorable conditions for developing and implementing the initiative and creativity of our work collectives.

All the steps aimed at implementing the economic reform are in keeping with the people's interests. The people must know what is at stake, what they have to expect, and what this will bring them. Like any other revolutionary act, restructuring has its energetic followers; others will identify themselves with it on the march, in the process of its implementation in practice. Restructuring is currently a matter of first priority and utmost interest for the entire society. However, we should not forget that its realization can meet head-on with the old inclination to push through the group, local, or even personal interests of all those whose present calm life it is disturbing, forcing them to pull their weight, instead of enjoying a comfortable ride. It is good to know that it could mean a considerable stumbling-block for us to let the interests of the whole society be drowned by other interests, to know that we must therefore follow these all-social interests with particular attention.

Restructuring cannot be decreed. This would not be in keeping with the new management system which is now being created, and which does not rely on the force of decrees and administrative measures, but is based on the

identical interests of an individual and a collective and those of the state and the society. An essential condition of successful restructuring is the broadly implementation of the democratic principles throughout the society. This requires us to increase the broad flow of information about all significant issues of scientific-technical, economic, social, and ecological problems. In their activities, the management agencies must proceed from the principle of providing information to the public and of involving the broad public in the preparation of important decisions; the management agencies must make use of the best people to resolve the problems. A lot must be changed in the existing forms and methods of work. Nevertheless, the well-tested method of everyday contacts with the people must remain lastingly valid.

The document on the comprehensive restructuring of economic mechanism and on ways to ensure it, which was adopted by the Seventh CPCZ Central Committee Session, testifies to the purposeful implementation of conclusions adopted by the 17th Congress of our party, conclusions which emphasized the need to rebuild [prebudovat] the economic mechanism so that it would ensure to the maximum the achievement of set political, economic, and social goals. We are concerned with making the bold intentions of economic and social development by the year 2000 a reality, on the basis of a new quality of the growth of our national income as the prerequisite for satisfying the people's real needs. The urgency of introducing the new mechanism in practice is underscored by the current fulfillment of tasks set by the Eighth 5-Year Plan. That is also why we are not waiting until 1 January 1991 to mak all the changes, why the new elements are gradually being experimentally implemented, so that they can have a positive impact on the economic results already in the present 5-year period.

We must neither procrastinate in resolving the tasks of our economic reform, nor must we be too-hasty in this; we must proceed soberly and realistically, critically analyzing the achieved results; we must not ignore problems, but concentrate on their solution with increased intensity.

Chnoupek Addresses 18 Dec Session

AU281512 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Dec 87 p 4

[Report on speech by Bohuslav Chnoupek, member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR minister of foreign affairs, in the discussion at the seventh session of the CPCZ Central Committee in Prague on 18 December]

[Text] Perhaps at the moment even we, who are taking part in this session, who participate in its work and follow it from close up, are not in a position to figure out what the package of exceptionally momentous documents we are approving and what Comrade Jakes' speech, which resounded from this lectern, will bring in the future.

With these documents we are, namely, expressing ourselves absolutely clearly on the key question of our society's life, such as its comprehensive restructuring, truly the greatest change in our life since February 1948. From this point of view it is possible to regard our deliberations as truly historic in the party's mobilization to achieve clear objectives.

True, in order to respond in a dignified manner to this challenge of the time and to historical necessity, we needed, as is well-known, as we all know well, a certain time. Perhaps also because of the fact that the traditional fount of our inspiration and a no less traditional guarantee of our courage to embark upon this path—namely, the Soviet restructuring—has not caught us completely prepared, either theoretically or practically.

Only through this it is possible to explain—despite the good resolutions of the 17th party congress and the conclusions of the fourth and fifth sessions—all the initial hesitation, groping, insecurity, unclear and vague standpoints, concern and mistrust about whether the restructuring is not a departure from Marxism-Leninism and a sellout of our principles.

Now, I think, we have worked our way from that one-dimensional comprehension to understanding that the restructuring is not solely oriented toward some sort of exhortation to give more and more ["davaj, davaj"], prodding the economy and restructuring to artificially prescribe that society become dynamic, but that what is involved is a serious theoretical and practical expression of the objective requirements of the contemporary stage of society's development, oriented toward an effective upsurge of socialism at all levels of its foundation, and of the restructuring of the social sphere, culture, and the entire life of society in general.

Therefore, as was noted in the main speech, it is good that today we are viewing the restructuring in this, its broadest political and ideological aspect, as a mobilizing factor which activates our strength, in the first place man's consciousness, giving him the chance of creative activity.

What is even better is that we have overcome the distorted interpretation of restructuring, narrowing it solely to demanding discipline or increasing the productivity of labor—without doubt, necessary elements of the socialist economy, but nevertheless elements of only one category of our social events.

And the best thing of all is that we have stopped regarding restructuring as a measure suitable only for the Soviet Union.

On the road of socialist construction our party has always leaned on Soviet experience. The relationship toward the Soviet Union has always been the cornerstone of our patriotism and internationalism. The words of the main speech, that the relationship toward the

Soviet Union is the fundamental constant of our existence, are true a thousand times over. Therefore, this constant must not be subject to subjective moods, subjective interpretations, the criteria of personal advantage or disadvantage, personal ties or lack of ties, the sympathies or dislikes of partners.

Certainly, the mechanical transfer of experience is a thing of the past. And no one wants us to copy everything that is going on in that one-sixth of the world. Cooperation among the socialist countries and mutual influence are today carried out by means of political, ideological, and comradely instruments, and in no other way.

Today, when we are making such an important decision on our restructuring, we especially have to welcome—as strongly as possible—the fact that its truly international nature and its truly general validity within the framework of the socialist community are being stressed. Active support for Soviet restructuring on the part of our friends in the fraternal countries, the CPCZ leadership, and the Czechoslovak working people are really of great importance to the Soviet Union. Without restructuring, all sectors of social life as the experience of the other fraternal countries shows, the line of acceleration cannot be realized.

Matter of no less importance is bearing in mind that the Soviet model of restructuring is not static, but is subject to development, something that is also attested to by the beginning of its second stage. It is all the more necessary to clarify more than one aspect of this not so simple process.

Comrade Chnoupek further pondered the relationship between the general and the particular in the construction of socialism and in the process of restructuring in particular. He said that special features [zvlastnosti] obviously concern the methods, forms, and possibly the extent and time frame corresponding to each country's objective and subjective conditions. They obviously also concern the level of material development, intellectual life, and individual political and cultural characteristics, which—in their entirety—determine our approaches to the solution of issues connected with the current construction of socialism. During the so-called revival process, when specific Czechoslovak features were daily on the agenda as one of the most cunning schemes, and when one right-wing bigshot after another had something to say about the subject, one of them demanded the "...uprooting of everything unnatural and, in the process of the elimination of these phenomena, the development of a socialist society which takes into account only national special features, traditions and, in particular, the way our people think."

A clear explanation of this question would, in a way, also be an answer to the bourgeois propaganda thesis about 1968, so often peddled nowadays, that what was involved then was not an attack on the fundamental values of socialism and on the CPCZ, but was what the CPSU is after today.

More than one of the "men of the Prague Spring" has let his voice be heard on the subject of this transparent swindle; P. Kohout is the latest one. Was it really like that? After all, we remember how it was! They dishonored, besmirched, splattered with mud, and slandered the party, and then prompted it, exhausted and disorganized, to solicit the favors of the electorate under the conditions of an, allegedly, pluralistic system. The same Kohout who today asserts that in 1968 there was no attack on the communist Party, was already quick to declare when taking up the post of the chairman of the party organization of the Union of Writers in March 1968: "We must carry the entire democratization process to its very end, which is where the party will enter into an open competition. Thus, it is my opinion that the numerous clauses of other political parties must be rescinded." And that was only the beginning! We all know well how it went on.

Comrade B. Chnoupek further stressed that it is impossible to search for connections between that tragic, painful period of 1968 and the captivating dynamism of democratization and the economic reforms of perestroyka, realized by the Soviet people under the leadership of its steeled, united revolutionary party—the leading force of society. He said that comparing the year 1968 with restructuring is an important problem which deserves thorough elaboration. It has to be properly explained to the party and the people.

Comrade B. Chnoupek further said that we are initiating the implementation of comprehensive restructuring in a fairly favorable international situation, when mankind's hopes for better times have increased.

The agreement concluded on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons is the first since the end of World War II. It covers only 4 percent of the nuclear weapons which mankind will get rid of. I deliberately use the skeptical turn of speech "only 4 percent" of nuclear weapons. Because what is also involved among them is the elimination of—for us so important—72 American nuclear warheads on Pershing 1A missiles, stationed in close proximity to our border, some of which are targeted on our cities, and whose task was [tense as published] to carry out a nuclear strike on the Czechoslovak territory.

One succeeded in signing this extremely important treaty only 2 years following the application of the new thinking in the sphere of foreign policy.

Thus, the signing of the treaty is evidence that it is possible to resolve the problem of nuclear disarmament, in which context, until recently, many people said that in a world full of mistrust nuclear disarmament is an illusion, a romantic dream, a chimera, and a vision that can never come true.

We want our foreign service, one of the most sensitive components of our administration, to fulfill its duties not in a disconected way [odtrhnuto], but with the closest possible linkage with our country's concrete needs.

We see the purpose of the restructuring of our activity in the foreign service sphere's even more marked participation in the creation of the most favorable external conditions for the successful fulfillment of the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress—we will spare no energy to approach it with great responsibility toward the party and society.

Plenum Discussion, Part II

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 22 December on page 5 and on 23 December on pages 3 and 4 publishes the accounts of the remaining seven statements made during the discussion at the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, held in Prague on 17-18 December. In addition to the speeches of Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech SR, and Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, the speakers include the following members of the CPCZ Central Committee: Frantisek Hanus, leading secretary of the Central Bohemia CPCZ Regional Committee (1,200 words); Valeria Petrincova, worker from the Jan Sverma Iron Works in Podbrezova (1,000 words); Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravia CPCZ Regional Committee (1,400 words); Frantisek Kubes, iron-founder from the CKD plant in Prague (1,400 words); and Marie Bobkova, technical inspector from the Loana textile factory in Roznov pod Radhostem in North Moravia (1,500 words).

Frantisek Hanus discusses the "orientation toward acceleration and restructuring" in the work of the party organization in Central Bohemia. He urges, among other things, a faster progress of restructuring: "An ever increasing number of people realize that restructuring does not advance rapidly enough. This is not a manifestation of adventurism or impatience. We realize that it must not be rushed. It is not a simple matter but a gradual process of qualitative changes. However, the times and the results being achieved demand greater vigor."

Hanus also criticizes various phenomena that "erode people's trust in the authority and the competence of the center." The passage reads: "In drawing up the plan for next year, we are coming across the self-same problems as in the past. The implications of this are known—the inability to achieve the requisite dynamism and quality of economic growth and plans that are not balanced and interlinked and that require frequent changes, which devalues the political efforts expended to secure them. The working people rightly criticize the state of supplier-user relations. Supplies of fuels to the population are also becoming a grievous political problem. All these negative phenomena ultimately result in difficulties in ensuring social targets and erode people's trust in the authority and competence of the center."

Valeria Petrincova's statement deals with the development plans of the Jan Sverma Iron Works, with the economic performance of the industrial enterprises of Banska Bystrica district in general, and with their production and commercial links with Soviet enterprises.

Vladimir Herman reports in his speech on the implementation of the party organizations' "control function" in the industrial enterprises of South Moravia. Turning to more general problems, he refers to his many "bad experiences" in trying to "assert something new and progressive, something that departs from the routine." In this connection he points to the difficulties that had to be overcome to establish the "Mikroelektronika" association for the production of computers, a novel type of organization, most members of which are based in South Moravia: "There were procrastinations, tedious negotiations, and—instead of search for ways of speeding things up—there were attempts to sweep everything off the table. The talks usually moved from the spot only after the intervention by a minister or his deputy."

This leads Herman to conclude: "I am convinced that with such people and their 'initiative' we will not win the battle for restructuring, a change of thinking, and change of approach. If they are not able to actively participate in these great changes, various 'warnings' will probably not do but we will have to tackle the problem—thoughtfully, but consistently, displaying not only sensitivity for the people, but also for the needs of society. To speak less and to act more—this maxim applies today more than ever before."

Frantisek Kubes criticizes in his statement "our comrades from the State Planning Commission and the Czech Planning Commissions" for drawing up plans that compel CKD employees to work overtime and extraordinary shifts and to "work on machines that have been written off many times." This situation confirms, he says, that the existing methods of management no longer do. Kubes continues: "But is something changing? Have new approaches started to be applied, has something really begun to change? My impression is, rather, that everywhere there is only an atmosphere of uncertainty and marking of time."

In another part of his speech, he says: "That things are not changing, that is what people reproach us most for. And they criticize also our party agencies in this respect.

"In some phases the prevailing interest now seems to be what the organizational setup will be and who will be elected and when, rather than what to do to tackle the

actual problems concerning the fulfillment of the production plan. And so I think that at the top there is a greater struggle for chairs than for the so badly needed acceleration adopted at the 17th party congress.

"Three quarters of a year have passed since the last working meeting of the Central Committee but hardly anyone from the ministry, the government, or other agencies visits the workers to see how restructuring is really doing and how things continue. Rather, they only correspond with us. For three quarters of a year there has only been constant talk of what things will be like in the future but no one speaks about what should be done today and what must be done in the immediate future to eliminate shortcomings, and above all, about what he himself will do in his sector."

In concluding Kubes warns that "this marking of time and indecision generates apathy and passivity among the people" and that the situation is also "reflected in young people's interest in joining the party."

Marie Bobkova's statement deals with the problems of the textile industry in North Moravia. She criticizes, in particular, the obsolescence of the production base, which forces enterprises to use "extensive methods" (overtime work) to meet their steadily growing production tasks. She also refers to the low average wages, the need to work in shifts, and the tough production norms in the textile industry, which account for a high staff turnover rate and perennial manpower shortages. In this connection Bobkova complains that North Moravia is not among the beneficiaries of the government's program to "stabilize manpower in the leatherworking, textile, and garment industries," despite the severe manpower shortage in its textile factories.

In another part of her speech, Bobkova objects to an article which appeared in RUDE PRAVO's weekend supplement of 18 November and which "dealt in a critical way with the situation in the Javornik united agricultural cooperative in our district." Without elaborating on the nature of the RUDE PRAVO criticism, Bobkova accuses the author of the article of having "failed to consider the views of the elected agencies and the party organization of the united agricultural cooperative" and of having "lent credence to individuals pursuing only their own interests." A recheck of the relevant article reveals that it concerns two young engineers from the Javornik cooperative who have been assigned jobs as night watchman and manual worker respectively after publicly criticizing the cooperative's management. In an attached editorial note, RUDE PRAVO mentions that it will respond to Bobkova's criticism in one of the next weekend supplements.

Apart from the reference to power struggle in Kubes' speech, none of the seven discussion speeches published by RUDE PRAVO on 22 and 23 December contains a reference to the change at the head of the CPCZ leadership.

SRV Foreign Minister Arrives on Working Visit

LD281736 Prague CTK in English
1700 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Prague Dec 28 (CTK)—Vietnamese Communist Party Politburo member and Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach arrived here today on a working visit to Czechoslovakia.

Tatra Expedition Complains of U.S. Harassment

AU291051 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
23 Dec 87 p 7

["ZR"-signed Washington dispatch: "Strange 'Escort' for the Tatra Expedition"]

[Text] Washington (ZR)—The Czechoslovak "Tatra Round-the-World" expedition [involving the 5-man crew of a Tatra 815 truck on a tour of seventy countries] was under the close watch of U.S. secret services while driving across the United States, as Comrade Stoehr, the expedition chief, notified the Czechoslovak representative mission in Washington.

While on U.S. territory, the expedition was "escorted" day and night by three to five vehicles. Its members were continuously photographed and forced to explain their activity in the United States. Persons who had met with members of the Czechoslovak expedition were presently interrogated by officers of the American FBI secret service [sentence as published].

During customs inspections at U.S. borders, the expedition members always had to unload the truck's entire load. Everything was subjected to exceptionally detailed checks, with the customs officials showing particular concern about the export of "high technology." During the final customs inspection prior to the expedition's departure from the United States for Mexico, a special television crew was present "by appointment" in the (vain) expectation of some sensational revelation.

As the chief of the Tatra expedition stressed, the conduct of the U.S. authorities sharply contrasted with the generally very cordial and friendly attitude of ordinary Americans toward members of the Czechoslovak crew.

Honecker To Meet With France's Mitterrand

LD281131 Hamburg DPA in German 1023 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Paris (DPA)—Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, will have two meetings with President Francois Mitterrand during his visit to France 7-9 January. Honecker, who will be visiting one of the three Western powers for the first time, will also talk with Prime Minister Jacques Chirac and Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond about bilateral relations and, above all, East-West relations.

The Foreign Ministry in Paris describes relations with the GDR as "satisfactory", although they are too weakly developed. Honecker's visit has been "in the air" since the visit to Berlin by former Prime Minister Laurent Fabius in June 1985. However, Paris attached importance to waiting for Honecker's visit to the Federal Republic.

Berlin issues could come up if Honecker addressed them, it was said in Paris today. France is "satisfied" with the city's status and does not, for its own part, desire any changes. Paris does not intend to make any proposals of its own on agreements with Moscow about an improvement in air transport, as proposed by U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Honecker will arrive in Paris in the afternoon of 7 January and depart on the 9th. As well as political talks, the itinerary includes a state banquet, a visit to the theater, and a tour of the palace at Versailles. In addition to laying a wreath at the Arc de Triomphe, Honecker will also lay a wreath at the Pere Lachaise cemetery to commemorate the victims of the bloody suppression of the socialist Paris Commune in 1871.

CSSR Leader Acknowledges Honecker Message

LD281626 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1500 GMT 28 Dec87

[Text] Milos Jakes, in a telegram to Erich Honecker, has praised the high level of cooperation between the CSSR and GDR. He expressed his thanks for the congratulations on his election as general secretary of the CZCP Central Committee and assured the general secretary of the SED Central Committee that he will do everything to ensure that the good relations will continue to develop for the benefit of the peoples.

PLO Envoy Denounces Israeli Behavior

AU281529 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The struggle of the Palestinian people in the Gaza Strip, the West Bank, and in the Arab section of Jerusalem against Israeli occupation terrorism has reached a new stage. In the occupied territories, general resistance has formed in every town, every village, and every refugee camp; all classes and strata are making active contributions. This was stated by Dr 'Isam Kamil Salim, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PLO to the GDR, in a news conference on Wednesday [23 December]. As Dr Salim pointed out, Israeli troops are attacking Palestinians with cruel brutality. In the past 2 weeks more than 50 people fell victim to this terrorism. Hundreds of persons have been injured and thousands arrested. But neither the permanent course of oppression which the Israelis would not be able to pursue without continued military, economic, and political support from the United States, nor the most recent escalation of despotism are in a position to thwart the Palestinians' struggle for freedom. The only way a lasting and just peace can be achieved in the Middle East is to hold an international conference, he explained.

The ambassador thanked the GDR for its solidarity and the support for the just struggle of his people.

Defense Ministry Evaluates CC Session

AU240858 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Dec p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Saturday [19 December] the Collegium of the Ministry of National Defense and the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army discussed the tasks resulting from the Fifth Session of the SED Central Committee for the National People's Army, the GDR Border Troops, and Civil Defense.

The participants in the conference expressed their complete approval of Erich Honecker's closing speech evaluation of the international situation after the signing of the treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the liquidation of their medium- and shorter range missiles. They underlined the firm determination of the Army members and border troops to do their duty for the peace policy reliably and with great vigilance at the side of the Armed Forces of the USSR and the other fraternal armies.

In his concluding speech Army General Heinz Kessler, member of SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, affirmed that the GDR soldiers and working people will do everything to implement the decisions of the Fifth Session of the SED Central Committee, while also the Armed Forces consistently proceed further on the course of comprehensive intensification and rationalization. He set the task to achieve an even higher efficiency of the leadership, training, and provisions processes and to more effectively organize the political-ideological work of the party and mass organizations and the military collectives.

Honecker Presents Birthday Salute to Mielke

LD281334 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1148 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 28 Dec (ADN)—This morning, Army General Erich Mielke, GDR minister for state security, received militant greetings and most cordial congratulations from the party of the working class on his 80th birthday.

At the head of the Central Committee Politburo, Erich Honecker conveyed the congratulations. He praised in the most cordial words the life of Erich Mielke which was marked by the struggles of the revolutionary German and international workers' movement, his steadfast work against fascism and war, for the construction and protection of workers' and peasants' power on German soil, for the secure flourishing of the GDR. He thanked the long-standing member of the Politburo for his valuable work in the party leadership team and at the head of the Ministry for State Security.

Erich Honecker presented Mielke with the Karl-Marx Order awarded to him at the proposal of the Politburo and the Presidium of the Council of Ministers.

Other members of the party and state leadership conveyed their congratulations with Erich Honecker.

Erich Mielke thanked them in moving words for the congratulations and the high award. As the son of a Berlin working family, formed by the party of Thaelmann and Lenin and hard struggles, he had always tried to execute every party order just as millions of other communists and patriots before and with him have done. The resolutions of the 11th party congress were a certain compass for solving future tasks.

Erich Mielke expressed his joy that he has been able to work with the party leadership team to fulfill the class order, and work for the strengthening and safeguarding of socialism and peace. This applies fully and totally to the work of the teams and the employees of the Ministry for state security whether they worked publicly or as patriots in unseen areas.

Among those offering their congratulations today was also a deputation of the Dynamo Sports Association whose chairman Erich Mielke has been since its founding.

The congratulations of the CPSU were conveyed by Ambassador Vyacheslav Kochemasov. Fraternal organs of the socialist states and the Military Council of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany also sent their congratulations.

Army Gen Erich Mielke received many congratulations from his electoral districts in the Halle region which he represents in the People's Chamber as their deputy, and from work teams and institutions with whom he has maintained close contacts for decades.

Leaders' Public Appearances 16-22 December

AU251450 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 17 to 23 December reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Hermann Axen, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and chairman of the People's Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee, chaired a meeting of the People's Chamber Foreign Affairs Committee in East Berlin on 17 December. (18 December, p 6)

Werner Eberlein, first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, addressed the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership meeting evaluating the fifth session of the SED Central Committee in Magdeburg on 17 December. (18 December, p 1,2)

Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a study delegation of the Communist Party of Argentina headed by Francisco Alberto Alvarez, member of the Political Commission of the Communist Party of Argentina and director of the official party paper QUE PASA, in East Berlin on 17 December. (18 December, p 2).

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, spoke at a meeting of the Collegium of the Ministry of National Defense and the Secretariat of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army in East Berlin on 19 December. (21 December, p 2)

Guenter Kleiber, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Gheorghe Dinu, minister of heavy equipment of the SR of Romania, in East Berlin on 22 December. (23 December, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a study delegation from the CPSU Central Committee headed by Lev Kuznetsov, deputy director of the Heavy Industry and Power Engineering Department, in East Berlin on 18 December. (19-20 December, p 2)

Gerhard Mueller, first secretary of the Erfurt SED Bezirk leadership and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, thanked workers of the "Ernst Thaelmann" Robotron Office Machinery Works in Soemmerda for their outstanding achievements; date not given. (18 December, p 6)

Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, spoke at the Berlin Bezirk leadership meeting evaluating the fifth session of the SED Central Committee in East Berlin on 17 December. (18 December, pp 1,2, filed as AU211915) Guenter Schabowski also visited an old people's home in East Berlin on 22 December. (23 December, p 8)

Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, gave a reception for the members of the Executive Council of the World Federation of Scientists in East Berlin on 19 December. (21 December, pp 1,2)

Borics Outlines Bill on Legislation

AU241001 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Dec 87 pp 2-3

[Speech by Gyula Borics, State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice to the National Assembly in Budapest on 16 December: "Dr Gyula Borics' Report"]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly!

Allow me, in submitting the draft bill on legislation on behalf of the Council of Ministers, to remind you briefly of the previous session, which adopted the work program of the Council of Ministers up to 1990. This parliamentary position is an extremely important one also from the viewpoint of legislation. This is so because, on the one hand, the implementation of the government program also requires the creation of laws, while on the other, the government program stipulates as one of its tasks further increasing the level of legislation.

If we draw up a balance of the last 5 years, we can conclude that the legislative activity of the Parliament has increased, as has the role played by the National Assembly committees in preparing laws and other regulations. The preparation of laws and legislation has tried more than ever to fulfill political, social, and economic requirements. We have deliberately and consistently modernized and simplified the legal material, and there has also been an increase in democratic aspects in the preparation of the law.

However, we can hardly be satisfied with these results. Criticizing the regulations has been one of the most frequent and a rather popular subject of discussion at official and mass media forums, as well as among the public in the course of the past few years. I do not even remember a case when a regulation was praised.

In spite of the undeniable development, there is much truth in the critical observations. Among these, I would mention now only the fact that the number of regulations has been increasing to a greater extent than justified, by 4-5 percent annually, and, in 1986, we already had 5,529 regulations in force. The number of decrees has increased in particular. And, although the number of laws has also shown a tendency to increase, their role in our legal system is smaller than desirable; at the end of 1986, there were only 146 of them. At the same time, the stability of the regulations has weakened. In certain areas—primarily as regards economic regulations—changes have been taking place too quickly. There are many kinds of regulations that have different names and are of various types of legal status, and the area of authority of the legislative bodies is uncertain. All in all, there has been an increase in over-regulation and unjustified interference in certain aspects of life.

These legislative problems are closely interrelated. Thus, for example, the smaller role played by the laws provides greater scope for rapid changes in regulations, and the simplified possibilities for making amendments makes it easier to create unnecessary legal regulations. There is a common root behind these flaws. Government tasks are sometimes dealt with in an overly organized and bureaucratic way, and this inevitably leads to over-regulation. There are also ideological reasons behind the most justifiably criticized over-regulation. We often resort to legal regulations to solve social and economic problems when other types of measures are needed. Frequently, instead of eliminating the causes of an injustice, we think only of administrative means, of prohibition and punishment. If a mistake has to be eliminated or a result has to be shown, issuing regulations gives the impression of effective and quick action. It would often be more efficient "simply" to improve our activity instead of issuing regulations.

To assess things realistically, however, it must be said that the large number of regulations and the complexity of the legal system are a direct result of the differentiation in certain aspects of life and of development. The decrease in the importance of management relations based on subordination and superiors, and the almost total elimination of interference by direct measures have increased the role played by the law in management and in influencing social and economic processes. This, however, makes it even more necessary to develop a more clear-cut legal system.

The dispersed nature of regulations prevents the system of regulations and legislation from being clear. This results from the fact that, in accordance with specific prevailing desires, regulation has often occurred without there being a uniform concept behind it. There is a mistaken view according to which every manifestation of a government body should be in the form of a regulation. Therefore, an increasing number of government bodies kept asking for opportunities to create intensive regulations. This sometimes leads to problems that affect even constitutional rights, for example, in cases when the assertion of a citizen's right stipulated in a law or regulation is prevented by a decree whose existence cannot even be acknowledged by the citizen.

Intensive Preparation [Subhead]

Esteemed National Assembly!

Undoubtedly, the afore-mentioned problems together have often given rise and are still giving rise to doubts about the ability to comply with the law and about the efficiency of our legal system. The law can only contribute efficiently to the solution of our tasks, however, if it maintains its social prestige. In order to do this, though, it is essential to collate the regulations issued by the state bodies into a comprehensive, clear, and uniform system. In addition, the preparatory work on regulations must explore the existing conditions in the area to be regulated and closely coordinate the various interests that are

affected. Last but not least, the regulations must be carried out consistently. The proposal submitted to the National Assembly seeks to deal with these tasks.

I would like to mention a few elements of this proposal relating to these ideas.

In working out the system of regulations, on a principled basis but adjusted to practical demands, we propose to determine the sphere of legislative bodies and the range of regulations they can issue. The principled basis means that we consider regulations to be only those that are issued by state bodies that are authorized by the Constitution to carry out legislative activity, regulations issued as a generally obligatory rule of behavior and which, if necessary, can also be applied by the government.

It follows from this that—if the proposal is adopted—regulations could be issued only by the National Assembly, the Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers, and their members, by state secretaries in charge of bodies with a national sphere of authority, and by councils, and each of them could issue only one type of regulation. All the other legal means of state administration would be obligatory concerning only a narrow personnel sphere and only under special conditions. In this way, a special situation would cease in which some ministers and heads of bodies with a national sphere of authority were able to issue regulations that also affected bodies that were not under their direct jurisdiction, and, for example, the situation in which all ministers were able to regulate issues concerning employment. So-called instructional legislature would cease and, subsequently, so would the legislative authority of several bodies with a national sphere of authority.

The other type of state management is the so-called legal guidance. This is not an obligatory regulation, but a legal form by which the state wishes to influence—on the basis of recommendations only—the activity of state and public bodies, and of economic and other organizations, as well as the citizens' activity. As a result of the modernization of management, there is an increasingly frequent demand that the central state bodies should refrain from stipulating concrete rules of behavior, but should issue comprehensive and principled goals and programs.

All these legal means do not represent a fundamentally new trend in our legal system. But, by determining the content of various legal forms and by separating them from each other, the citizens and the various organizations will find it easier to pinpoint the state regulations that are compulsory for them. Therefore, failure to observe these regulations can be accompanied by determined disadvantages. I think that this order in all areas, particularly economic, of society's life, will facilitate an understanding of the laws and will also provide adequate means for modern management.

Esteemed National Assembly!

Among the problems of legislation concerning political law [allamjog], the issue of the role played by the laws is what most concerns our public opinion. The critical observations that have emerged in this area are generally justified. It must be said, however, that 146 laws or, together with the laws issued this year, 151 valid laws is no small number, but the number of decrees is too high, although this proportion is not unique in Europe.

We have always striven to increase the role and importance of legislation, but, according to experience, this effort has not been effective enough. Therefore, we regard it as justified for the proposal to determine both in general and in detail the aspect of life that can be regulated only by law. It is desirable to determine these so called subjects of legislation [torvenyhozasi targyak] by taking into consideration the Constitution and also the experience accumulated so far. The consistent application of these rules means that, in the course of regulating social conditions of fundamental importance and through the deputies, possibilities open up for the joint declaration of the citizens' will and for the coordination of interests. Thus, major decisions could really be made in a democratic way, and therefore their implementation would also be expected to be smoother if the legal system were also to become more stable.

The regulation stipulating that whoever issues executive regulations cannot be authorized to regulate fundamental rights and obligations is aimed at eliminating overly general regulations. Therefore it is impossible, to submit a draft law which hands over genuine regulations for example, ministerial orders to public administration bodies.

Esteemed National Assembly!

In the course of determining the subjects of legislation, we also had to analyze the legislative activity of the Presidential Council. An unfortunate situation has developed in the course of past decades whereby, in accordance with the right stipulated in Paragraph 30, Article 5 of the Constitution, the Presidential Council has quite often substituted for the National Assembly in its legislative function, especially when amendments to laws were necessary. We could also say that the legal decree issued by the Presidential Council has become the general and typical form of legal amendment. Among the laws that were in force at the end of 1986 there were only 12 cases of amendment by law, and 74 cases of amendment by decrees. Nobody endorsed this practice.

In order to strengthen the determining role played by the National Assembly and by the law, the essential thing for the proposal is to precisely stipulate the social conditions that can be regulated only by law. In addition, however, the way in which the sphere of authority of the Presidential Council emerges in connection with the legislative objects is also of decisive importance. Several views have emerged concerning this issue. During the preparation of the draft bill, we held consultations with the comrade

deputies on ways to solve this task, and we also held intensive consultations on the issue at the session of the Administrative, Legal, and Judicial Committee of the National Assembly. Finally, the committee concluded that a real guarantee for the legislative sphere of authority of Parliament is given if the law on legislation states that, in legislative subject matters, the Presidential Council cannot issue executive orders, and this also means that it cannot modify or invalidate the law issued by the National Assembly in these matters. However, since this solution limits the substitute role of the Presidential Council—a role stipulated in the Constitution—it is necessary to modify the Constitution, too. The committee submitted the relevant draft law to Parliament, together with the report.

I declare that, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, I fully agree with the modifying and supplementary proposals submitted by the committee and dealing with the draft law on legislature, as well as with its proposal concerning modification of the Constitution. As for the text of the proposal concerning modification of the Constitution, however, I propose the following: "If the National Assembly is not in session, the Presidential Council is to exercise the sphere of authority of the National Assembly; the Presidential Council, however, cannot modify the Constitution and cannot issue regulations in matters that come under the sphere of authority of the National Assembly."

In this subject matter, I draw the attention of the esteemed comrade deputies to the fact that, according to the draft bill, the Presidential Council will also issue executive orders in its own sphere of authority, primarily in the course of fulfilling its tasks as stipulated by the Constitution—for example, in matters concerning international agreements.

A more precise outline of the legislative sphere of authority would also facilitate a more consistent assertion of the legislative functions of the supreme state bodies, functions stipulated by the Constitution. The National Assembly should outline the rules that have a fundamental and long-term effect on the aspects of life, and the Presidential Council should generally be able to modify the laws issued by the National Assembly only in urgent cases; the Council of Ministers should continue to play a central role in legislation, as the body preparing the draft bills, and also as an independent legislative body. It is the constitutional obligation of the Council of Ministers to also ensure the implementation of laws and executive orders by issuing regulations. In order to implement its activity to provide administrative guidance, the Council of Ministers primarily regulates major issues of economic and public life.

Related to the role of legislation, I would like to mention the regulation in the proposal according to which the Council of Ministers is obliged to report to the National Assembly on the 5-year legislative program and its implementation. As the program also contains the tasks of the Council of Ministers concerning the preparation of draft bills, the report facilitates the assertion of rules concerning the subjects of legislation, as well as the contribution of the committees and of the deputies in the preparation of the law. Another new element in the proposal is the regulation concerning the measures to be taken in cases where a National Assembly committee or a deputy initiate laws; how is such a proposal to be prepared. In my opinion, this will become the practice primarily when the National Assembly also becomes—with increasing frequency—a forum to modify laws.

Executive Rules [Subhead]

Esteemed Comrades!

A good law is one that can be implemented and which is, indeed, implemented. The condition for this is that the legislative body should be aware as precisely as possible of the interests that the law will affect. Interests are, however, so complex that it is impossible to create a good law from a desk, without the contribution of those concerned.

How is the requirement for democracy expressed in the draft law? In Chapter 2, the proposal stipulates that the citizens should participate—directly or through their representatives—in preparing and creating laws. It also stipulates that the public organizations and the bodies representing interests should be included in the preparation of draft laws that affect the interests and social conditions represented and protected by these bodies. For these bodies this right does not limit the right of individual bodies concerning agreement over legislation, a right stipulated in a separate law, but provides further authority. Another new possibility for these organizations is that, if their rights concerning the preparation of laws are violated, they can turn for help to the Council of Ministers, as a body that, in the course of the given phase of legislation preparation, has the possibility to correct the mistake quickly. Other possibilities—like turning to the Constitution Law Council—will, naturally, remain unchanged. There is a tradition of public debate in preparing laws that has lasted several decades and we rightly regard this as one of the standards of democracy. There has been no comprehensive amendment to the law in the past years in which we did not consult—in one form or another—the opinion of those concerned. As part of the preparation of the law, the draft bill now regulates separately the fundamental rules concerning public debates, rules that up to now were stipulated only by internal decisions of the Council of Ministers. One essential rule is that these debates may also be initiated by the interested public bodies and bodies representing interests, and they have to be carried out in due time to enable the observations and proposals arising from these debates to be used in the preparation of laws. The rule according to which the legislative body must be informed about the proposals emerging from the debates, including those that are not taken into consideration, is a rule that provides guarantees.

A fundamental—and, unfortunately, often disregarded—requirement concerning legislation is that the laws should be formulated clearly, understandably, and in accordance with the rules of the Hungarian language. Voluntary observance of the laws is inconceivable if they are not understood clearly by the people concerned.

Esteemed comrade deputies!

We had to consistently solve several contradictions during the preparation of the bill. It is possible that we did not fully succeed in this endeavor. However, we tried to carry out a thorough preparation. Thus, for example, we asked the opinion of the Constitutional Law Council concerning the principles of regulations, and we also made use of this opinion. Several bodies, including the Administrative, Legal, and Judicial Committee of the National Assembly, the Budapest and county councils, the PPF, the Hungarian Jurists Association, the law departments of the Universities, and the State Administration College, submitted proposals and observations concerning the bill. A great number of proposals were submitted and we took the majority of these proposals into consideration during the preparation of the final text of the bill. On the basis of these proposals, we had to formulate more delicately in several cases.

Their Time Has Passed [Subhead]

According to the bill, the legislative body—in this case, the National Assembly—must be informed about important proposals that emerged during the public debate but were not included in the bill. I will mention these in short. I have already discussed the debate concerning the authority of the Presidential Council to substitute for the National Assembly. There were different opinions also concerning the limitation of the legislative sphere of authority of the Council of Ministers and of the ministers. In the professional debates it was regarded as justified to eliminate the ability of one or the other body to legislate, or of both bodies or persons, if these bodies or persons have not given authority to issue concrete regulations, authority stipulated by the law. After a thorough examination of all the arguments and counterarguments that emerged from the debates, the provision was included in the bill that a decree of the Council of Ministers may regulate aspects of life without having legal authority where these aspects are not part of the sphere of subject of legislation. Ministers and state secretaries, however, may only issue rules and regulations in their own sphere of activity and only on the authority of the law, executive order, or a decree of the Council of Ministers.

Some opinions questioned the need for a program on legislation, arguing that, if we set out the tasks for preparing laws years in advance, and if we stuck to them, this could lead to occasional superfluous legislation. Other opinions, however, stressed precisely the need for such a program for the benefit of the planned preparation of major laws and also pointed out the possibilities of modifying the program. There was also debate on submitting this program to the National Assembly. The draft bill reflects the opinion that, regarding its nature, the medium-term legislation program is a program of the Council of Minister in which the Council of Ministers has determined its own tasks in the preparation of bills initiated by itself, and therefore, this does not stipulate any obligation on the part of the National Assembly.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that the conclusions concerning the possibilities and limitations of legal regulation also apply to this bill. In itself the new law will not eliminate, or even diminish, the existing shortcomings. Consistent application of it will, however, do that, and might even have a positive effect on the work of administrative bodies and on the methods of state administration, and, together with other conditions, it might improve these activities.

Esteemed comrades!

Allow me to submit, on behalf of the Council of Ministers and simultaneously with the bill on legislation, the bill concerning the settling of regulations issued prior to 1960, because the two bills are interrelated. (In doing this, we can already provide an example of the simplified way of submitting draft bills.)

I have already mentioned that, along with considerable successes, several problems emerged concerning legislation, problems that reduce the social efficiency of the law. In addition to the oft mentioned legal over-regulation, our legal system is prevented from operating efficiently also by the fact that, so far, there has been no comprehensive amendment of the law carried out in Hungary, an overall amendment affecting the entire legal system; therefore, it is often difficult to recognize the applicable laws, among other things also because of regulations that contain rules that are formally still valid but which have already been carried out or are outdated. In order to reduce over-regulation, to cleanse the legal system of outdated regulations, and thus make it more clear, the Council of Ministers decided in 1986 that, in cooperation with the ministers and heads of bodies with a national sphere of authority, the justice minister should reexamine all regulations issued prior to 1960.

This work lasted almost 2 years and also covers the laws issued prior to liberation. The draft bill that settles the laws and executive orders issued prior to 1960 has been prepared on the basis of this reexamination. The overall settling of several thousand laws and regulations—which are formally still valid—issued in the aforementioned period of time also required the reexamination and settling of lower-level regulations. We have concluded this work too.

In accordance with the principles of codification, the draft bill invalidates laws and executive orders that have already been carried out, lost their importance, and whose time has passed. In order to also put the existing

legal material at the disposal of the legislative bodies, we have also prepared a draft justice ministry report containing a list of valid laws and executive orders issued between 1945-1959, and we append this report to the draft bill for information purposes.

Concerning the draft bill, I would like to point out only one circumstance: The abrogation of a given law does not imply a value judgment. The overwhelming majority of laws to be invalidated are laws that were very important at the time they were created, today, however, in view of the changes that have occurred in social conditions and in the legal system, these laws have become outdated.

Esteemed National Assembly!

I declare that, on behalf of the Council of Ministers, I agree with the modifying and supplementary proposals submitted by the Administrative, Legal, and Judicial Committee concerning the draft law on legislation, and I propose the adoption of these proposals.

In conclusion, I would like to express my conviction that the submitted draft bills—if adopted—will contribute to better legislation, a better orientation in legal matters, and will also strengthen the prestige of the law. On behalf of the Council of Ministers, I call upon the National Assembly to adopt the draft bills on legislation and on settling the regulations issued prior to 1960, and include them among the laws of the Hungarian Peoples Republic.

Villanyi Comments on Financial Policy

AU261606 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Dec 87 p 8

[Interview with Minister of Finance Miklos Villanyi by Maria Lakatos: "Miklos Villanyi—Consistency in Distribution Is Required"; date and place not given]

[Text] Miklos Villanyi, the recently elected minister of finance, started work at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences as a postgraduate student under Istvan Antos. Later he dealt with the financial aspects of the agricultural sector, and also the financial affairs of the councils, population taxation, and issues connected with the construction industry and financial institutions at the Ministry of Finance. At present, he is an honorary lecturer at the Karl Marx University of Economic Sciences and teaches a semesterial optional subject.

[Lakatos] You have assumed leadership of the Ministry of Finance in at least as difficult conditions as your predecessor. What financial policy do you intend to implement?

[Villanyi] The change of ministers does not imply a change in the financial policy. I will try to accomplish the goals accepted by the government program, and financial policy should be treated as part of this program. I believe that the goals are quite known. We should give increased incentives to those who are good, and we should apply the increased strictness of the economic environment to those who produce inefficiently because of their own mistakes. I think that here we can also mention the fact that we should be consistent in distribution and accept clashes because we will not be able to satisfy many—otherwise socially legitimate—demands that appear in various forums. Naturally, my fundamental task is to sum up the initial experiences of the new tax system, nor we should not hesitate to correct occasional mistakes.

[Lakatos] You will participate in implementing a law that was being formulated while you were employed at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food.

[Villanyi] I was a member of the coordinating commission preparing the implementation of the tax reform and I similarly participated in working out the personal income law. I dealt with similar issues at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food. It is impossible to manage the financial affairs of a sector if they do not fit into the whole. At present, my new job naturally entails other emphases and requires greater preparation.

[Lakatos] My question may be premature, but do you intend to introduce new taxes?

[Villanyi] I do not deal with such thoughts. I will be glad if we succeed in introducing the present ones properly, make them work, and carry out the occasionally necessary modifications in the meantime. However, I intend to further simplify the existing forms of deductions and I would like to eliminate the taxes that remained as a result of compromises, but cannot be incorporated into the financial system, as soon as circumstances allow. Such a tax is the separate tax, or the turnover tax on wines. Although this is not closely related to the changes in the tax system, one of my plans is to accomplish a goal which was earlier announced but subsequently given up, having economic units pay uniform social security payments.

Medgyessy Comments on Economic Policy

AU261654 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 17 Dec 87 p 8

[Interview with Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy by Maria Lakatos: "Peter Medgyessy—Enterprises Must Not Be Influenced Directly"; in Parliament on 16 December]

[Text] [Lakatos] We asked Peter Medgyessy, who just went from the Office of the Minister of Finance to the Office of Chairman of the Planning and Economic Commission, a commission that is now being established: "What goals has the new deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers set for himself?"

[Medgyessy] We want to consistently give a detailed explanation of what the government has formulated in its program and what awaits one. A high degree of enterprise and ministerial independence is needed, and the economy must be organized. But this does not mean that what the government does will have less effect on the economy; it will intervene, but in macro-level processes. In many opinions, enterprises must not be directly influenced, in either a positive or negative way; therefore macro-management is required in the area of developing the economic mechanism and we will have to reconsider certain structural issues, because certain issues should be centrally guided.

[Lakatos] How will this new commission be established, a commission at the head of which you will, in fact, no longer supervise the Ministry of Finance directly?

[Medgyessy] The new commission is now being established; its composition will resemble that of the National Planning Commission—though it will be narrower—and functionally speaking, it will naturally have a great influence on financial affairs. In my delegate's authority, I will be able to make decisions on certain issues instead of the premier; but the job of the commission basically will be to prepare the decisions. As a matter of fact, the National Assembly made me responsible for the entire economy when it made me chairman of the commission.

[Lakatos] As minister of finance, you prepared the two new laws on taxes to be enacted on 1 January, but you will not be part of their implementation.

[Medgyessy] I am very determined—and my mandate confirms this—to see through the implementation of the tax law. I feel responsible for seeing that it has the expected effect. But I will naturally not intervene in the authority of the minister of finance.

Manpower Market Trends Noted

AU261559 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 22 Dec 1987 p 4

[Article by Pal Molnar: "The Manpower Market Is More Strained—Five Alternatives, But Where?"]

[Text] The trend in the manpower market is unchanged. That is, the number of available jobs is decreasing while the number of people looking for jobs is increasing. Even today a person looking for a job has five to choose from on the national average. But the number of job offers has decreased by 50 percent in 1 years; in 1986, a person who was not employed and was looking for a job had 10 jobs to choose from.

The actual numbers could possibly be somewhat different if we could measure the entire manpower market. The offices in charge of keeping records of manpower supply and demand are, however, able to obtain doubtlessly reliable data on the direction of main processes; the Information Center for Labor Affairs of the State Office for Wages and Labor recently summed up the reports of these offices for the third quarter of 1987.

Dilution and Padding [subhead]

Two peculiarities concerning manpower demand are noteworthy. On the one hand, not only the demand, but also the number of employers registering the demand has decreased in 3 months from 3,337 to 3,100. On the other hand, among the registered demands, there are those from which one can deduce that they constitute "personnel thinning" [letszamhiggitas]. That is, the pleas trying to encourage employers to manage their people efficiently are having some affect. At the same time, short-term economic interests induce some enterprises to implement the "padded staff" principle.

One can conclude this from the number of people waiting jobs for more than 1 month. In the third quarter of 1986, this indicator was at 973; 3 months later, it grew to 1,912; and another quarter later, it grew to 2,070. However, at the time of the recent survey, this figure had dropped to 1,818 people. On the basis of this change, analysts at the Information Center for Labor Affairs reached the conclusion that "employers are currently trying to prepare for staff and wage management in 1988 by filling their staff positions."

Still in the area of demand, professional workers are expected to fill half of the vacancies, and trained workers will fill one quarter of the vacancies; and, more than 27,000 such jobs are vacant. The greatest demand continues to be for mechanics; the Hungarian economy, and primarily industry, could immediately employ 4,000 mechanics, one third of them in Budapest and Pest County.

The data concerning machine cutting professions gives food for thought. In addition to mechanics, the enterprises registered a greater demand for dressmakers and bricklayers with the offices; machine cutters, are "only" in fourth place. At the same time, when one visits industrial plants, one hears most often complaints about a shortage of lathe operators. It is conceivable that the demand for 1,154 lathe operators sought through labor exchange offices constitutes only a fraction of the real demand?

There are two justifications for this assumption. One, that industrial enterprises are familiar with the wage conditions and acknowledge that they are unable to compete for lathe operators with smaller organizations, for example, subsidiary branches. Two, enterprises are also familiar with the state of professional training and know that the industrial demand cannot be satisfied by this source. Therefore, they do not submit their list—which they consider hopeless from the start—to the manpower office. This type of "inaccuracy" inevitably results in the data supplied by the offices.

People at the Beginning of Their Career on the List [subhead]

The entire supply and demand of unskilled workers is particularly noteworthy. Only 17 percent of the available jobs are for unskilled workers. At the same time, half of the people who were not employed and applied for a job were looking for an unskilled job. That is, there were approximately 5,000 people for 9,500 available jobs. In other words, one jobless unskilled worker had the choice of two jobs, provided that demand and supply coincided geographically. However, the actual, and not the average, manpower market situation is that unskilled workers applying in certain areas cannot find even one possibility for employment. At the time of the survey, at Ozd, for example, there were 4 jobs available for 294 unskilled workers. At Miskolc, the proportion was 361 to 128; the situation is similarly bad at Szolnok, Komlo, Dunaujvaros, and Eger.

In the Nyirseg area, in Nyiregyhaza, employment difficulties for the unskilled workers are accompanied by similar difficulties encountered by white-collar workers: At the time of the survey, 20 jobs were available to 253 white-collar workers. People who currently seek employment for the first time apply, among other jobs, for white-collar jobs. These people constitute a quarter of the 10,500 people in Hungary who are not employed and are waiting for employment. Most are people starting their career—almost 2,000 people—and some are family members. The number of the latter is increasing; that is, the financial condition of more families is such that the member of the family who has so far stayed at home have to work. This change also adds somewhat to the tension in the manpower market.

The data on education and age also draw our attention to the tasks ahead. About 60 percent of people who are not employed and are waiting for jobs have had 8 years schooling, at most. More than 4,000 people who graduated from secondary school were among those looking for jobs.

It is worth mentioning that 655 people under 20 with a matriculation certificate, that is, people starting their career, were at a "waiting" at the time of the survey. The fact that this may be so because they have no profession crosses one's mind. But then how can we explain the fact that 539 of vocational schools graduates under 20 were unemployed? To include every person with a matriculation certificate—regardless of age—there were 4,053 on the list of people waiting for jobs. There were 167 university graduates on the list, most of them between 20-30 years old; that is, starting their career. Entrepreneurs Are Needed! [subhead]

It seems that the tendencies of the manpower market are durable; although temporary peculiarities do vary the picture, no fundamental turn for the better can be expected in the foreseeable future. That is why we should acknowledge and adopt the new, and therefore unusual, initiatives aiming at alleviating the tensions as soon as possible.

Luckily, there are such initiatives! At Matraalja, for example, a survey is being made to see how many people the producer cooperative could employ in a village, and how many houses are uninhabited, if not without owners. The numbers are often similar. The possibility and the interest of finding people to live in these houses and accept these jobs should be established as soon as possible.

People with entrepreneurial spirit could contribute much in strained areas—people who, facing market requirements, are able to establish coordination between a material basis and production capacity and subsequently, create more and more new job opportunities. We should respect these people, these entrepreneurs, much more than previously. In addition, we should also support other initiatives which are able to alleviate the worries and difficulties of temporarily jobless workers either economically, or "only" humanly.

Agricultural Cooperatives Tasks Discussed

AU261630 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 Dec 1987 p 5

[Correspondent's report: "The Agricultural Cooperatives National Council Discussed Tasks for 1988"]

[Text] The Agricultural Cooperatives National Council discussed the cooperative's tasks for 1988 at a meeting in Budapest on 21 December. The written report was supplemented by Istvan Szabo, chairman of the Agricultural Cooperatives National Council. He stressed that the 1987 economic activity can be evaluated only on the basis of preliminary and estimated data, but they are a good basis for the recognition of certain important trends. The goals for 1988, however, can only be based on the performance in 1987.

Some 1390 agricultural, professional, and fishing cooperatives, and collective cooperative enterprises are preparing their final accounts. There are 1256 agricultural cooperatives. Together the cooperatives are expected to reach a production value of 256 billion forints, of which the agricultural cooperatives account for 93 percent.

The extent of the damages caused by drought and frost in 1987 has already exceeded the usual damages for years with bad weather. This was the primary cause for the fact that agricultural production in the cooperatives lagged behind production in 1986 by 4 percent. The industrial servicing activity, however, increased by 6.5 percent, and is expected to come close to 87 billion forints.

The yield of corn is smaller than in 1986. The yield of maize is larger than in 1986. The yield of grape decreased by 36 percent, and of fruits by 11 percent. The

performance of the animal husbandry branch decreased, too. The production of cattle and sheep for slaughter decreased, whereas the performance of pigs for slaughter and poultry branches increased slightly.

The fact that the producer cooperatives made investments amounting to 23.2 billion forints in 1987—which is an increase of almost 25 percent over the extent of the investment projects in operation in 1986—is a promising fact among the many concerns. The total profits of the production cooperatives is expected to reach 16 billion forints, which is 2.1 billion forints less than in 1986. On the basis of preliminary data, the number of unprofitable cooperatives will decrease, and along with this, the extent of losses will also decrease by 50 percent.

The possibilities of the weak producer cooperatives in unfavorable situation have further narrowed in 1987 and the development of the best cooperatives in the fore of the field also has regrettably come to a standstill. In 1988 we should, therefore, make progress and increase the value of agricultural production by 5.5 percent. Istvan Szabo said that we can, at any rate, be happy because we do not have to count on curbing production; and that we will be able to implement the prescribed increase in production in a year with average weather conditions. Most of all it will depend on the cooperatives' managers and workers also in the future. However, it is necessary to improve the state of technological supplies. High quality should be required not only when the agricultural products are handed over, but also in the machines, installations, and materials that are sold to the production cooperatives. New possibilities are available to establish the coordination of production, processing, and marketing.

After this, a debate followed. Ferenc Szabo, deputy minister of agriculture and food, took the floor. In the end, the body adopted a proposal that summarizes the tasks of the producer cooperatives for 1988 on the basis of the debate; the verbal supplement, and the debate itself.

Samojlik Says January Price Hikes Impossible

LD282354 Warsaw PAP in English
2209 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—Finance Minister Bazyli Samojlik told the main TV news bulletin tonight that it will be impossible to increase official prices by the end of January.

The minister added that increases of official prices will be possible only after the government fixes them following consultations with trade unions on all the effects of such increases.

Last Sejm Meeting for 1987 Opens 28 Dec

Jaruzelski, Messner Attend

LD281217 Warsaw PAP in English
1135 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—The Polish Sejm (parliament) started its last meeting in 1987 here today, with the first reading of the 1988 draft budget law as the key item on the agenda.

The Sejm will also consider draft resolutions on the balance of payments, the credit plan, the balance sheet of citizens' monetary incomes and the monetary-credit policy, the planned funds for culture development, labour redeployment, foreign debt servicing, and science and technology development.

Sejm committees will be reporting on the government's assessment of the implementation of the food economy tasks as envisaged by the 1986 plan, and on the government draft law on amendments to the law on income tax.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner are attending the debate.

Finance Minister Speaks

LD282112 Warsaw PAP in English
1813 GMT 28 Dec 87

["Minister Samojlik's Sejm Address (Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—During a presentation to the Sejm, on the authorization of the Council of Ministers, of the draft law on the 1988 budget and the draft resolutons on the balance of payments, the foreign debt servicing fund and the prolongation of the validity of the resolution on the list of goods and services whose prices are officially fixed, Minister Samojlik said that after the results of the referendum were announced there arose a necessity of introducing changes in the assumptions of the price-income policy for 1988. These boil down to the limiting of the scope and limiting of the scale of the transformation of the price structure and monetary incomes.

As a result of these changes, which are necessary in light of the verdict of the public, there arose considerable difficulties in achieving a balance in the state budget in the 1988. Due to this, after conducting deep analyses and undertaking additional steps which increase incomes and limit expenditures, the Council of Ministers puts forward a draft budget which closes with a deficit of 369.6 billion zlotys and proposes that this negative balance be covered by bank credits.

The incomes and expenditures covered by the draft budget were calculated in conditions of 1987 prices and wages. The effects of the forecast changes in the price-income policy were represented as a collective sum improving the overall budget by 1 trillion 35 billion ziotys. After the implementation of the price and income changes the overall national budget revenue will increase by 2 trillion 90 billion zloties while expenditure will grow by 1 trillion 55 billion zlotys, giving the final negative balance of 369.6 billion zlotys.

During work on this version of the budget there originally appeared a bigger deficit, therefore, the Council of Ministers undertook actions increasing revenue and limiting expenditure. For example it envisaged the limiting of expenditure on budget-subsidized investments, lowered expenditure on subsidies for enterprises, undertook steps giving a visible improvement in the division of financial accumulation between the budget and enterprises. The overall effect of these additional undertakings has improved the budget's balance by approximately 0.5 trillion zlotys.

The size of the deficit proposed in the draft budget will be, in the opinion of the government, very difficult to cut further without limiting real programmes in the budget sphere, lowering of real incomes or increasing taxes.

The share of subsidies in budgetary expenditures will fall below the 1983 level. Subsidies for food, passenger transport, housing cooperatives and for medicines have been unfortunately growing much faster. Expenditure for repairs and overhauls of housing blocks will grow twofold.

The share of the socialized economic sector's contribution to the state budget revenues remains at 93 percent. The basic source of the budget revenues (42 percent of receipts) will be income tax, financed from profits. A relative increase in sums paid by enterprises to the budget reduces their financial liquidity but does not undermine possibilities of financing development.

At the end of 1987 local budgets will have at their disposal surpluses reaching some 100 billion zlotys. Sums to feed regional budgets have been specified for 1988 in the draft budget. They make it possible to finance tasks ensuing from the central annual plan. The role of regional budgets systematically grows. It is through regional budgets that a steadily growing percentage of the stage budget spendings are realized. In 1983

the share of regional budgets in the state budget spendings reached about 33 percent while in 1988 it will come to nearly 35 percent. Most of social spendings are realized through regional budgets.

The government will aim at further consolidating the financial independence of people's councils and the stability of the financial system. Provisions concerning changes in the budget law were maintained in the draft budget. The point is to authorize voivodship councils to transfer some sources of their own revenues to people's councils of the basic level.

The work is under way to restructure the tax system. Draft principles of introducing universal and uniform tax on the population's incomes and assumptions of the value added tax, to be levied instead of the present turnover tax, will be prepared by June 1988. Proposals of other changes aimed to increase the stimulating function of taxes will also be prepared.

We consolidate and simplify the existing systemic solutions, striving to standardize the principles of taxation and the volume of burdens upon all economic units, irrespective of the forms of ownership.

Already in 1988, the scale of income tax from incomes from private production, trade and services will be eased and the nominal extreme rate of this tax will be decreased to 75 per cent. There is a proposal to lower the rate of the income tax from socialized foreign trade units to 65 per cent. The 12-per cent limit triggering tax sanctions for excessive wage payments will be abolished. The number of rates will be reduced in the turnover tax. However, this tax will continue to be actively used to balance the market. By the system of tax reductions and exemptions, we will promote the boosting of individual enterprise, stimulating the development of the priority areas of production and services. The hitherto levying of an agricultural land tax upon farms will be maintained.

We give up the imposition of an income tax upon the exchange of flats and introduce tax reductions in the civil-legal turnover of flats. We raise the sum free of the equalizing tax to the level of three average 1987 wages.

Supporting various forms of earning money with the help of tax instruments, we will firmly exact due tax obligations and counteract tax offences.

A new variant of the price-income policy has been worked out which also strives towards the transformation of the structure of prices and incomes, which is an indispensable condition for the realization of the second stage of the economic reform, though at a slower pace and in a smaller scope.

The scope of the application of official prices will be limited in favour of contractual prices. A total move away from regulated prices is envisaged in 1988. These will be to a great extent replaced by contractual prices. The hitherto instruments of counteracting the excessive and unwarranted growth of contractual prices will be modified appropriately.

The scale of the price increases of basic foodstuffs and selected subsidized services, especially energy and rents, is envisaged to be considerably lower than in the pre-referendum variant. The proposed increase of prices of basic food articles will be fully and directly compensated.

The payments position which is synthetically mirrored in the balance of payments, has a significant influence on Poland's economy. From the beginning of the 1980's Poland's balance of payments has remained under the influence of the high hard-currency debt. The hard-currency debt is nearly four times higher than the economy's current (foreign) income, it strongly limits the freedom of shaping the balance of payments. Within the framework of the existing determinants we assume that the payments policy, including relations with creditors will be shaped in such a way as to enable further growth of the economy, its pro-export structural transformation, the implementation of the second stage of the reform.

In 1987 the most characteristic feature of Poland's payments situation with respect to the socialist countries is the significant reduction of the deficit in the balance of trade payments. In 1986 the deficit amounted to approximately 900 million transfer roubles while this year the deficit will amount to about 400 million transfer roubles. As a result 1987 will be the first year, after many, in which the growth of debt will be insignificant. In 1988 the balance should improve further. A total equilibrium in trade payments is envisaged with the growing dynamics of turnover.

The payments relations with the hard-currency countries are incomparably more complex. Poland's debt in hard-currencies is very high in comparison with her export of goods, services and incoming foreign exchange transfers. In 1987 the inflow of hard-currencies was accelerated. However, this did not make it possible to increase the sums allocated to debt servicing due to strong import pressure. The economy still does not possess sufficient resources to pay full interest to Western creditors. Therefore, the level of Poland's hard-currency debt grew.

We expect that in the reliazation of the agreement with the Paris Club, in the course of negotiations with the individual countries—creditors will display indispensable flexibility with regard to the conditions of bilateral agreements. The assumption the trade balance, which envisage the maintenance of a surplus of revenues from and currency transfers, as well as the results of the debt (?rescheduling) constitute the premises on which the plan of the balance of payments for 1988 has been based. [sentence as received] For the first time in the current decade there exists the prospect of a nearly balanced plan.

The government puts forward an unbalanced budget. However maintenance of even this small disequilibrium of budgetary revenue and expenditure will not be an easy task. The persistent realization the assumptions of the prices-incomes programme and respecting the coherence of the state's overall financial policy will be of prime importance for the maintenance of the budget deficit within the specified limits.

National Bank President Speaks

LD282156 Warsaw PAP in English
2016 GMT 28 Dec 87

["Wladyslaw Baka's Sejm Address (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28—At the beginning of his address to the Sejm the president of the National Bank of Poland (NBP), Wladyslaw Baka, said that in 1987 the banks persistently realized a policy of hard-to-get money with respect to economic units. However, it must be borne in mind that this year there arose an unplanned deficit in the state budget of nearly 300 billion zlotys. The amendment by the Sejm of the budget law obliged the NBP to lend 298 billion zlotys to the state. As a result, the overall growth of the the issue of credit and money in the current year exceeds by 211 billion zloties the sum specified in the credit plan. This lowered the effectiveness of the banks' influence on the improvement of the economic balance.

According to the bank the danger of the excess of financial resources in enterprises is much more real than lack thereof. This results mainly from the unfavourable shaping of the share of the budget in the financial accumulation of enterprises, the ease of increasing prices associated with the economic disequilibrium, as well as access to great financial reserves amassed in various funds.

In 1987 there were no significant achievements in the transformation of the economic structure.

The banks' key task was influencing the efficiency of management in enterprises which received credits. This was served by the selective credit policy, the essence of which is the differentiation of the access to credits and conditions of credit depending on the enterprises' financial situation, the effectiveness of the utilization of the factors of production and the policy of development being realized by them. Credit preferences were assured for enterprises which possessed permanent credit-worthiness.

However, apart from enterprises which through their efficient work regained a good financial position, we meet with numerous cases of "improvement" by way of subsidies and allowances without any connection whatsoever with a real improvement in the efficiency of management. In conditions when money does not fulfill its functions it is impossible to effectively influence the economy through the instruments of monetary policy.

During more than 40 years of the history of People's Poland the zloty has never been a strong currency. In recent time the situation has got worse, and at present trends are simply dangerous for the future. The persisting deep economic imbalance, including the chronic excess of demand over supply on the market, limits the role of money as a means of exchange. The shortages of consumer, supply and investment goods reduce the ability of zloty to fulfill its payment function.

The Polish zloty, as a non-convertible currency, does not play any role on the international scale. This directly affects the way the Polish economy is assessed the world over and depressingly influences Polish citizens. The task of healing the currency has not only the economic dimension but also the social, psychological and political ones. It becomes ever more obvious that the condition indispensable for the achievement of the goals that were guiding in the undertaking of the economic reform in Poland is to fulfill all the currency functions by the Polish National currency.

Last June the National Bank of Poland submitted a programme of strengthening the currency. This is an anti-inflation program aimed at gradual reducing the price-income spiral and the one which at the same time puts stress on restoration of the economic balance, acceleration of the process of structural changes, improvement of social and individual economic effectiveness and the creation of premises for (at first limited and then developed) convertibility of the Polish zloty. Many theses of the programme of the consolidation of the currency were used in the work on the implementing programme of the 2nd stage of the economic reform. However, the consolidation of the currency will, to an equal degree, depend on decisions in the economic policy, in particular on its efficiency in the cause of restoration of economic equilibrium and reduction of the sources of inflation.

1987 has not recorded a success in activities aimed at fully implementing the plan of supplies of goods for the market, not exceeding an income increase envisaged by the plan and at increasing propensity to save and a general "cooling" of money.

The so-called inflationary gap, that is the scale of the lack of balance between the purchasing fund and the supply of marketables and serviceds, rose to 260 billion zlotys.

It is envisaged that in 1988 it will amount to 500 billion zlotys.

According to the NBP intensive work and actions striving to the improvement of the relation between the population's incomes and monetary expenditures, concretely speaking—to the elimination of the inflationary

gap, are indispensable. This requires a particulary detailed analysis of the assumptions behind the price-income policy. In the concrete situation, in which the Polish economy finds itself, the re-establishment of a market equilibrium—apart from necessary and intensive actions aimed at increasing the supply of goods and services above the quotas set by the central annual plan and the creation of conditions and stimuli for the development of savings—must be associatred with price increases which would outpace the growth of incomes.

Everything seems to indicate that in 1988 the financing of the budget deficit of 369 billion zlotys will be carried out through a combination of three methods: An over-issue of money (this was done in the past), through the reduction of credits for other applications, and through an extraordinary mobilisation of additional financial resources from enterprises and other economic units.

In 1988 the process of making the interest rate more real both in relation to time deposits, as well as to credits will be initiated. In the future the interest rate will be shaped with consideration given to the movement of prices and the supply and demand for money. Further progress on the roads to developing partnerly relations between banks and enterprises should be made.

Comprehensive work has been initiated on the reform of the banking system in Poland. The first results are already visible. A specialized bank—the Export Development Bank, has been created. The General Savings Bank has been separated from the NBP's (National Bank of Poland) structure as a state bank in its own.

As it was planned, as of May 1, 1988, a network of commercial credit banks will start to be established on the base of NBP's operational branches. These will be universal banks, located in the largest agglomerations, having the right to conduct their activities nationwide. Their activities will be based on the self-financing principle. Credit banks, both new and old, will be competitive to each other.

We expect that as of Jan. 1, 1989, enterprises will gain the right to choose banks. The decentralization of the banking system will create appropriate conditions for the accumulation and flow of financial resources and will simplify work on the restructuring of the economy.

The decentralization of the banking system will by no means mean a decentralization of the monetary policy. The NBP will be transformed into a "bank of banks" with features which are characterisitic for a central bank in a modern economy.

The Council of Banks puts forward its opinion on the draft balance of payments for 1988.

The council is of the opinion that the assumptions of the planned balance of payments in the currency area of the socialist countries are determined correctly. But, in the council's opinion, the planned balance of payments in hard-currencies—when one takes as the base the present state of economic and financial relations with the Western countries - contains too cautious assumptions as to the growth rate of the trade turnover.

The assumptions of the second stage of the economic reform envisage further changes directed at the pro-export reorientation of the national economy and create conditions for increasing the growth rate of the turnover in 1988 and the following years.

1988 Budget Bill Discussed

LD291016 Warsaw PAP in English
0001 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—The Sejm (parliament) today heard the first reading of the budgetary bill for 1988 and 6 draft resolutions related to next year's financial plans, including the state's balance of payments, the credit plan, the balance of the population's money incomes and expenditures, the provisions of the money-credit policy, the central fund for culture promotion, the state fund for job re-deployment, the fund for foreign debt servicing and the central fund for developing science and technology.

The Sejm was also presented with a draft resolution extending the binding force of the resolution on the list of goods and services covered by official prices.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Zbigniew Messner were present. The floor was taken by Minister of Finances Bazyli Samojlik and President of the NBP National Bank of Poland Wladyslaw Baka.

The deputies focused on the announcement of a thorough restructuring of relations between the budget and credit plan. Their opinion on the proposed budget followed two lines: the global interests of the state and the situation of the average citizen. The anxieties commonly felt were expressed in various addresses.

The task of healing money at present has not only an economic aspect but a social, psychological and political one as well, the deputies agreed.

Polish society has many a time expressed its desire for economic reforms. Stretching them in time, however, undermines their effectiveness and renders them not much feasible. Expressing such a view, Deputy Ryszard Bender said that "facts are needed."

Recalling the postwar years and referring to the text of the Polish Committee of National Liberation manifesto he underscored the role of the private economy in economic development. "Do we not lag behind," he asked, quoting examples from other socialist states.

Replying to questions put by the deputies, Minister of Finances Bazyli Samojlik announced that the government intends to make an indepth and extensive analysis of the situation in the structure of investments of the national economy and investment projects expenditures.

Prof. Jan Kostrzewski, speaking in the name of a group of members of the presidium of the social ecological movement operating within the patriotic movement for national rebirth, forwarded an initiative of creating a fund for natural environment protection.

Following the present first reading, further budgetary work in the Sejm will be carried out in January. Until it is completed, the government, acting under the budgetary law, will act on the basis of the presented draft budget.

Monday's debates in parliament also covered a report delivered by the agriculture, forestry and food industry committee. It dealt with the matter of completing last year's tasks in the field of the food industry, a matter brought to the fore by the Sejm as early as in the middle of this year. Even though this year the market has been saturated as concerns some kinds of farming machines, tools and spare parts, a shortage of mineral fertilizers occurred, nevertheless.

The agricultural policy of the recent period has released strong motivation for production in all sectors of agriculture. It was not able, however, to create a material guarantee for agricultural production growth. That is why the positive trends in agriculture do not have permanent features. Prolonging such a situation would constitute an ever increasing threat to food production and we must not allow this to happen, stated a representative of the Sejm committee.

The Sejm also amended the law on income taxes and introduced changes in the composition of Sejm committees.

Wrapping up the Sejm's last meeting this year, Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski stated that this year was one of progressing stabilization of socio-political life in Poland and the strengthening of developmental trends in the economy.

Malinowski Addresses Session

LD291022 Warsaw PAP in English
0005 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 28—Taking the floor, Polish Sejm speaker Roman Malinowski summed up the Sejm's activities in the turning year. He said:

We have lent much of our attention to governmental reports on the 1987 plan and budget fulfillment when discussing tenets of the central annual plan and during today's debate on 1988 draft budget and financial plans. In the course of our considerations a belief has taken a firm shape that only owing to deep, comprehensive and consistent economic reforms, accompanied by social and political reforms, will it be possible to ensure further social and economic development of the country.

Practically throughout the whole of this drawing-to-an-end year, the deputies have focused their attention upon working out the concept of the second stage of economic reforms.

Deputies' influence, and control at the same time, have been ensured in all the phases of designing a governmental programme of the reforms implementation.

We have devoted much of the Sejm's time to actions for democratic transformations. Deputies proposed and the Sejm passed the laws on social consultations, on the referendum, and on the ombudsman.

Referendum should come and stay for good in the practice of socialist democracy, on the local scale as well.

In keeping with the assumption adopted in the beginning of our term, we have developed and enriched the Sejm's control function. A custom is being established for the chairman of the Council of Ministers to present information on the government's intentions at the beginning of each year.

The present year has been abundant in international events paramount in their character. The Sejm has lent its full support to the significant proposal which was put forward in May this year by President of the Council of State Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and which is aimed at reduction of armaments and increase in confidence in Europe.

In its message to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Soviet people the Sejm has welcomed the 70th anniversary of the Great Socialist October Revolution.

The Sejm has confirmed close ties of alliance binding our two countries and expressed its support for peace initiatives of the Soviet Union which have resulted in signing of the significant Soviet-American treaty on elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles and which have made way for further agreements.

The July meeting in Warsaw of heads of parliaments from Bulgaria, Hungary, GDR, Romania, Soviet Union, and Czechoslovakia has been an expression of the tightening relations between socialist states and of establishment of new forms of cooperation.

Heads of numerous parliaments have taken a positive stand towards the Sejm's initiative to organize a meeting in Warsaw of heads of parliaments of the CSCE states-signatories in the latter part of November next year.

The contacts between the Sejm and other parliaments have been enlivened. Let me just recall here that the Sejm's official delegations have paid visits to Cuba, Nicaragua, India, Soviet Union, Australia, United States, Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Iraq, Austria, and Pakistan.

We have hosted in Poland parliamentary delegations of Canada, Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mexico, Pakistan, Great Britain, Japan, Italy, and Vietnam.

The contacts on a less official level have been numerous. Polish group of the inter-parliamentary union has been active, the activities of our parliament have served well to consolidate Poland's international position and to actively co-create the external and internal conditions of Poland's development.

Further Roundup of 6th CC Plenum Speeches

AU281600 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Dec 87 pp 4, 5

[Roundup of speeches from the floor during the sixth Central Committee plenum on 15 December in Warsaw]

[Excerpts] Janusz Basiak, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Committee of Tarnobrzeg Voivodship: [passage omitted] Lev Tolstoy said that if a number of people have to lift a wooden beam one of them has to say "up it goes!" At its 10th congress our party said "let us make reforms." But we should always remember that it is easier to say this than to do this. There were and are many people who prefer to sit on that beam and to shout "we are lifting it!"

For the first time, following the reform of the central authority, the entire bureaucracy and its intermediate echelons in enterprises have been genuinely endangered. The struggle against the reform is a struggle to keep one's job in one's institution. The old often continues to protect itself against the reform in an incalculable manner. During the discussion before the referendum representatives of production enterprises, farmers, and artisans continued to assert that they were already in the middle of the second stage of the reform and were working in line with its rules. If so, then why do we need the reform and for whom? If what these people say is true, why do we have those enormous lines waiting for subsidies and goods? [passage omitted]

Kazimierz Doktor, professor of the Polish Academy of Sciences: The sixth plenum is an excellent opportunity to work out practical proposals about the ideological condition of our party, which, although engrossed in its much demanding leading role, must not neglect an up-to-date treatment of its own ideology often pushed to the sidelines by the pressure of a multitude of economic matters. In this connection I would like to discuss a certain harmful myth that has been present in our political system for some time now and that has become especially wearisome ever since the political turbulence that occurred in the eighties.

This myth involves a stubborn repetition, especially by the political opposition, that the division of our country into those in authority, on the one hand, and people, on the other, is our basic political problem. Wonder of wonders, this division has been imposed even on some segments of the political leadership. Looking at this feature in a scientific way, it has to be said that this myth aggravates the conflict between the governing and the governed. While opposing this myth, we have to note that the political divisions, which came to a head in 1980, in our Polish conditions became a sensation, that is, an institutionalized political opposition. The doctrine of the "political organization of the people," which was worked out at that time by ideologists and lawyers, did not envisage this opposition.

In view of our experience of struggle and accord in the field of politics and economics, we can say today that the acuteness of the division into the governing and the governed continues to become increasingly obtuse, but that the myth, which stubbornly pits those in authority against their own people, continues to hinder social communication and to slow down the the process by which the political leadership regains trust among people and by which people increase their acceptance of this leadership. Although some of the hostile ideologists have no doubt stopped denying that those in authority have the right to legitimize their guiding and leading positions, the myth in question, which continues to persist, should be subjected to the party ideologists' criticism and should be banished into the archives of defunct tools of the oppositional political struggle. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Habczyk, member of the Central Control-Review Commission and first secretary of the PZPR Committee of Bielsko-Biala Voivodship: [passage omitted] The present reforms launched on the initiative of our Marxist-Leninist Party must not suggest that we want to depart from the principles of socialism. In connection with this and with the referendum it is important that today we once again restate clearly that which constitutes the permanent values of socialism and that which amounts to temporary expedients and means to achieve permanent values. I have in mind permanent ideological values and principles such as people's rule, the alliance of nonexploiting classes and segments of society, social justice, the comprehensive and harmonious development of every individual, and the important political and constitutional theses, which, although relatively permanent, continue to be somewhat changed in the course of socialist construction. These theses are the party's leading, guiding, and serving role. [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Kacperczyk, Central Committee member and farmer from Bartodzieje, Radom Voivodship: The national referendum produced a certain image of our

people's moods. Although large segments of the rural population voted decisively in favor of a rapid pace of the reform, some farmers who went to the referendum polling stations voted "no." This does not mean that farmers do not support the reform. There are many champions of the reform in the rural areas, but these areas continue to maintain that they still do not see any forces that are able to translate the reform into reality. Our agriculture continues to experience many difficulties such as the shortage of coal, machines, equipment, pesticides, natural fertilizers, and fertilizing lime. Just remember the most recent scandal with the engine oil before the referendum. Could it be that someone lacked any imagination at all? Despite such situations, farm production continues to stay at quite a good level, but this leads some sections of our people and even of our authorities to indulge in a kind of self-acquiescence. [passage omitted]

According to our press, every fourth industrial product manufactured for agricultural use has serious defects and has to be immediately repaired. This means that the industry shows an absolute lack of responsibility for the machines and equipment it supplies to farmers. If despite this kind of industrial assistance our farming has been able to produce enough for our foreign trade to achieve a favorable balance of trade for the second time in farm produce, then it is obvious that our farmers and the food industry are efficient producers.

Meeting the country's needs in food will be determined by our ability to stop young people from leaving rural areas and to induce them to become farmers. Compared with the seventies, the rate of young people's emigration from rural to urban areas has considerably decreased in the past few years. Still, 48 percent of our farms are now without heirs, a phenomenon we must not treat lightly. At present, young people do not try to avoid rural areas and farming. All they resent is the living and working conditions in certain villages and at certain farms. [passage omitted] At one time workers said "socialism—yes, distortions—no." Now farmers are saying "yes" to the full realization of joint farm policy and "no" to departures from it.

Mieczyslaw Krajewski, scientific employee of the PZPR Academy of Social Sciences: On the strength of analyses of questions, answers, and postulates published by the mass media I can assert that primarily three issues reveal people's fears with regard to the government concept of reforms.

The first and strongest fear concerns the question whether our development will be really humanized. People fear that in practice the reform will be based on the laws of the selfish, the richer, and the stronger and not on the laws of those who are industrious, thrifty, creative, and socially minded, as envisaged by the party's programmatic ideas.

This is how people are afraid for living standards, for the effectiveness of social benefits, for the situation of health and educational services, for housing construction, and for young people's prospects. Above all, people refuse to believe that efficient and productive work can help one to achieve anything at all.

People have suspicions about the government and the economic center and think that the idea of humanized development is merely a cover for a decisive program based on social Darwinism. People take the view that the party will be unable to implement its concepts. [passage omitted]

The second, distinct fear is expressed in the strong conviction that the program for the second stage of the economic reform is vague and incomplete. People draw attention to this lack of reliable technological and social calculations of the cost and effects of the second stage of the reform. [passage omitted]

The third fear is connected with the lack of one's belief in the ideological integrity and action consistency of the economic cadre and of the leading cadre. People stress the fact that these cadres are more concerned for their own privileges than for the interests of society and for the effective organization of work and production. Readers, listeners, and viewers think that what lowers credibility and belief in the success of the second stage of economic reform is one's conviction that "the people who failed to properly implement the first stage of the reform are in charge of its second stage." [passage omitted]

Stanislaw Krajewski, head of the Public Opinion Research Main Center: [passage omitted] What can be said of the people who voted "yes" or "no" in the referendum? It is certain that we must not divide them into those who were not or are not in favor of the reform and into reformers and conservatives. If the party adopted such divisions, it would create political fiction and erroneous ideological interpretations. Logic shows that the referendum questions put to society proposed reforms without any alternatives. That is why saying "yes" or "no" constituted no choice. That some people rejected these proposals did not mean that they would reject other proposals. Conversely, an acceptance of the referendum proposals did not mean that people would not accept other proposals. [passage omitted]

Wieslaw Lipowski, member of the Central Control-Review Commission Presidium and farmer in Lukowo, Karniewo Gmina, Ciechanow Voivodship:

The referendum took place over 2 weeks ago, but its results continue to be discussed and analyzed by various communities, including the farming one. The climate of political militancy created during preparations for most important events such as the referendum shows no signs

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of abating. At the same time, the rural areas have become somewhat more hopeful that the proposed solutions with regard to income-price policy will be toned down.

People in the street say that the referendum results have been lowered by the rural people's general attitudes and by their attitude toward the referendum. This is gross simplification. But it is true that not all rural communities demonstrated reasonable, patriotic attitudes. My observations were that small and medium farmers went more frequently to the referendum polling stations, although at pre-referendum meetings they were the first to air many fears and doubts about the performance of their farms after the second stage of the economic reforms has been realized. [passage omitted]

Walesa Calls For Political Prisoners Release

AU282040 Paris AFP in English
2010 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 28 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa and some 1,500 activists of the banned trade union in the Baltic city of Gdansk have called on the Polish parliament here to release all political prisoners, dissident sources said on Monday.

Thirteen people are still serving prison sentences or are awaiting trial for political reasons, among them Kornel Morawiecki, 46, former leader of Combat Solidarity, a radical faction of Poland's opposition, union leader Krzystof Wolf, 20, and a group of conscientious objectors to military service, dissident sources said.

The message, calling for the release of prisoners was sent to parliament during its current plenary session, they said.

Among the signatories were Mr. Walesa, Bogdan Lis, co-signatary of the Gdansk agreements which legalized Solidarity in August 1980 and Andrzej Gwiazda, Solidarity's former deputy chairman.

Urban's 22 Dec Press Conference

AU281741 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish
23 Dec 87 pp 1,5

[Government Spokesman Jerzy Urban's weekly press conference with domestic and foreign journalists at the INTERPRESS Press Center, 22 December—the last press conference of the year]

[Text]Urban: The authorities and society of the PPR are following the tragic events on the Israeli-occupied West Bank of Jordan and Gaza Strip with deep anxiety.

We are receiving reports that dozens of Palestinians have already been killed and hundreds wounded because of the brutality of the Israeli occupation authorities. The Polish mass media are reporting at length on the situation in the occupied territories. The Polish Committee of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America has issued a statement condemning the Israeli policy of repression vis-a-vis the Palestinian civilian population and expressing solidarity with the Palestinian people's struggle for their sovereign rights.

I wish to recall that Poland is consistently in favor of a permanent solution to the Middle East conflict by means of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations and attended by all relevant parties, including the PLO. We are convinced that this is the only way to safeguard the peace and security of all the states and peoples in the Middle East.

Peter Johnsson, GOTEBORGS POSTEN, Sweden: Could you comment on yesterday's Swedish Government decision to expel two Polish dilplomats who have been accused of illegal intelligence work?

Urban: This decision is unjustified and totally unfounded.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: The last time I was in Italy, I talked to Poles who had settled there. They said that they miss their country, miss their families, miss the Tuesday press conferences by Jerzy Urban. Yesterday you were voted one of the most popular television personalities. What do you think of the phenomenon of Jerzy Urban—a person whom people love to hate?

You have quite simply been chosen as a very popular television personality, and people in Italy have also said that they miss you. But at the same time they voice certain reservations about you, and often dislike you. That is why I am interested in the contrast between these two features—your popularity on the one hand and the dislike felt toward you on the other.

Urban: I consider your question very pleasant. When I watch myself on television, I see shimmering folds of fat. Because I am not a television personality, nor do I possess the qualities of one, I cannot say that the reason why I have been included among television personalities is that I attracted a large number of votes. I think the reason is approval of what I say about the policy of the authorities I represent. That is why the shortcomings in my personal appearance highlight the political significance of this favorable position in the minds of viewers.

Of course, if there were a contest for the most unpopular television personality, my chances in such a contest would be the same because Polish public opinion is politically divided, and my performance during the press conferences arouses mixed feelings or emotions.

Surender Kumar Bwutani, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA: How do you view 1987 in terms of Polish history?

Urban: Favorably. It has brought major progress in national accord. It gave rise to a cohesive concept for implementing the radical stage of the economic reform.

It is a phenomenal year insofar as it has not caused any major splits between the participants in the debate on Polish affairs, even though their views about the economy and politics are sometimes very different. As far as the general stream of reform is concerned, what we have achieved is real consensus.

It is a year in which the precise path of democratic reforms was laid down, a year which saw a referendum, which is important in itself and because of its results. At the same time, it is a year of failures, of which I must mention housing construction and various social matters, headed by medicine. But all in all it has not been a bad year for Poland, and to this one must add the normalization of Poland's relations with the outside world.

Finally, it saw major events which happened outside Poland but which possess major significance for Poland as a country in the heart of Europe and one that is concerned about detente and disarmament. The results of the Washington meeting have aroused the hopes of Poles for further progress in world disarmament and coexistence.

Marek Kassa, Polish Radio: On 21 December, Radio Free Europe said that Zbigniew Bujak and his supporters had made a volte-face in the direction of concessions. Could this be the beginning of an accord?

Urban: The former "Solidarity" leadership has split up into various quarrelsome groups. For example, Slowik, Jurczyk, Rulewski, Rozplochowski, and many others have formed a competing authority and are questioning Walesa's position as leader. It emerges from the resolutions they keep adopting that these disputes mainly involve dollars. U.S. authorities have turned their Polish friends at odds with each other by promising them millions of dollars. The Mazowsze group [of Solidarity], which is led by Zbigniew Bujak, has issued a statement which, as far as I know, was given to some Western dailies a few days ago. This statement contains the first rays of realism. The so-called Regional Executive Committee of the Mazowsze Chapter says, and I quote, that they are weak and divided, with no clear path of action, unquote. In this document, they consider what to do in order to become once again a force that has real influence over developments in the country.

They also admit that their actions are purely symbolic, having no connection with reality. Again I quote: "Solidarity" is slowly becoming a piece of history, symbolic relic, and ritual gesture. Unquote.

This document contains the first signs of an honest self-assessment. But other formulations in this document clash with this realistic analysis. The authors draw no logical conclusion from their weakness and demise. They admit that they are weak, disappointed, and deprived of contact with the masses and with the country's reality, but at the same time they enshroud themselves in such megalomania that they claim inspired the Soviet perestroyka and dictate terms for a pact with the authorities.

Therefore, the general tone of the statement is as follows. Because they have failed to win social support by organizing opposition, they intend to resort to alternative measures. Thus, the conclusions which the Bujak group draws from the past are still incomplete, and their intentions still hostile to the interests of the country and society. What has become clear, however, is a certain development of the Bujak group's attitudes, which it is worth observing. It is also worth waiting patiently for further developments in their way of thinking.

There is a rule in force saying that recent deeds and intentions are final. But the Bujak group does not remember this, suggesting pacts with the authorities because the group is weak, not because it genuinely wants honest cooperation for the good of everyone.

Barbara Drozdz, ZYCIE WARSZAWY: Employees of the Polish Academy of Sciences recently issued a memorandum about the situation of the social sciences. What is the fate of this memorandum?

Urban: I have spoken about it at more than one conference. But this time I can say that the memorandum was read by the scientific secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences. After this there was a meeting of the Academy's Presidium, attended by the professors who signed the memorandum and who belong to the Academy. The meeting discussed the memorandum and the accusations therein. Following a very business-like discussion, the Presidium appointed a commission chaired by Professor Wladyslaw Markiewicz, the Academy's deputy chairman, and also consisting of the memorandum's signatories, with the task of investigating the accusations and the situation inside the Academy's first department, to which the accusations were addressed.

Kay Withers, THE BALTIMORE SUN: I am very sorry to return to my earlier question, but do you consider yourself a lightning rod that attracts criticism about authorities and thus protects people like General Jaruzelski and Premier Messner?

Urban: Criticism in Poland is too extensive for any lightning rod to attract it. Some Western writers have the same opinion of me as you. Please do not make me make any megalomanic assessments. But if there were any way in which I could reduce the burden on my superiors, I would be happy to do so.

A. Rawicz, Radio Polonia: Is there any news about the cache from Sweden and the Morawiecki case?

Urban: Final investigations are underway, and one may expect an indictment to be conveyed to the court. Radio Free Europe recently broadcast a statement by Kolodziej, who is in hiding but who is one of the persons to

whom the consignment from Sweden was addressed. If Kolodziej thinks he is innocent, he can come out into the open and make a statement. And if there turns out to be no evidence against him, he will of course be released. But I do not want this to be considered as an encouragement for him to come out, because as far as I know Kolodziej's involvement with the cache has been proven in court.

John Daniszewski, AP: In next year's elections to people's councils, will independent groups such as "Solidarity" be able to put up their own candidates, or will the putting up of candidates be a closed process?

Urban: As a legal organization, "Solidarity" does not exist, so it cannot perform any public activity. In fact, the rules governing the putting up of candidates are yet to be worked out. The latest Central Committee plenum said that a work schedule is to be established, determining when each stage of work is to be completed and when the election rules are to be publicized. The democratic principles were approved in the plenum's sixth resolution. However, the details have not been laid down yet.

Surender Kumar, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA:Rakowski has been elected Politburo member again. How do you interpret this? Will liberal circles assume a stronger position among the authorities?

Urban: The Western press specializes in dividing Polish politicians into liberals and conservatives. But I can assure you that these divisions do not necessarily correspond to reality. I worked under Rakowski for many years and was subject to his fluctuations toward liberalism and toward a totally opposite direction. But I do not mean politics, of course.

Various types of nonsense have appeared in the West on the subject of M. Rakowski. For example, I read in the Swiss journal LA SUISSE that Rakowski is going to be in charge of ideology, that he met General Jaruzelski when he, Rakowski, was a career officer, and that when he was in the Central Committee he worked as a supercensor of the press. None of this is true. It has also been said that he left POLITYKA and joined the Central Committee so that he could tidy up a journal that was considered revisionist. All this is a twisted mistake. In fact, when he joined POLITYKA in 1957, POLITYKA was considered a hard-line journal, not a liberal one. When it was hard-line, its editor was Professor Zolkiewski, who is now a liberal. But when Rakowski became editor, it began to turn liberal.

I am starting my reply with a quotation from the foreign press in order to illustrate the huge inaccuracy of these various labels. Besides, Mieczyslaw Rakowski is not returning to the Politburo because he has never been in it before.

Now as far as the very choice of Rakowski to the Politburo is concerned, I have no authority to comment about internal party affairs, but this choice does involve state affairs. Right now, the role of representative bodies is growing, including that of the Sejm as the supreme body of state authority. This is an important part of the process of democratization. In the Sejm, the ZSL and SD are represented by a chairman and deputy chairman respectively. So it is natural for the PZPR, which has a Sejm majority and which exercises a leading role in the state, to consider it essential to be represented in the Sejm by a member of the strict party leadership. The party promotion of the Sejm vice marshal [Rakowski's office] is therefore motivated by the real significance of individual authorities inside the state. And I do not have to add that Mieczyslaw Rakowski's high political and state qualifications are generally known. In fact, I might be accused of being biased if I were to recite them.

Irena Czekierska, REUTER: Coming back to the expulsion of the Polish diplomats from Sweden, how does the Polish Government intend to respond?

Urban: I have nothing to say about this right now. The matter is still new.

Perhaps there will be more questions. But in the meantime I would like to say a few words about the problem of AIDS in Poland in view of the fact that the discovery of seven AIDS cases in Szczecin has led to major social anxiety and various unpremeditated reactions, demands, and fears.

Three persons have developed AIDS in Poland so far, the last one in July. All three were infected abroad, in the United States or Western Europe. All three are already dead. Since 1 October, the blood of every blood donor has been tested. There are also blood tests on so-called high-risk persons—foreign students in Poland, people visiting countries where such tests are required, and people returning to Poland following the expiry of foreign contracts. A total of 400,000 people have been tested. Of these, 58 were discovered to be carriers of the AIDS virus. Six of them are foreigners.

I can tell you that a total of 400,000 people have been tested so far.

The carriers are subject to out-patient controls. These are not diseased persons, and there is no reason whatsoever to exclude them from normal life and subject them to quarantine because, as we know, infection is not caused by social contacts at work, eating together, shaking hands, and so on.

Of the persons who are undergoing these controls, there are fears that eight of them have what may be described as preliminary clinical symptoms of the disease. They receive hospital treatment every so often. But they pose no threat to their surroundings. Therefore, the fear aroused in Szczecin because of the discovery of seven

AIDS cases there is unjustified. It was discovered that there are seven carriers of AIDS in Szczecin, and 58 carriers in Poland as a whole. In Szczecin four of them are foreign students and three prostitutes. None of them are ill. The prostitutes have been induced to discontinue their practices and undertake employment that is non-infectious.

At the beginning of next year, we will begin the joint production of texts about AIDS in order to reduce foreign currency spending for them and increase the scope of research as the need arises. Right now, the main emphasis is on educating society properly in this field. The anxiety in Gdansk shows that this education is incomplete and insignificant.

Over 15 million copies of various publications about AIDS have been published in Poland so far, as well as 2 films and 3 tape recordings. Still this year, in other words 1987, every household is to receive a leaflet signed by the minister of health and social security. Ten million copies of this leaflet have been printed. It presents honest and simple information on the disease and on how to avoid it.

Polish efforts, including those ofthe Polish Red Cross, are positively viewed by the World Health Organization and the Secretariat of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent.

Poland cooperated in and made an important contribution to the adoption of the Red Cross resolution in Rio de Janiero this fall. I can also add that in Poland matters relating to AIDS are being dealt with by the Council for AIDS Affairs, which groups together outstanding specialists in the fields of medicine and the social aspects of health. The council is headed by Prof Bonczak, the chief national health inspector.

Kay Withers, THE BALITMORE SUN: What form did this anxiety in Szczecin assume, and what was being called for?

Urban: There were calls for the expulsion of foreign students and the isolation, expulsion, or permanent hospitalization of people who are carriers. Wild ideas were voiced about the number of people affected, there were suspicions about various people for various reasons, and a dislike of foreigners as such and there are a lot of them in the port city. The journalists that I spoke to about this subject talked about strong outbreak of obscurantism.

I would also like to say that a special commission representing the Ministry of Health had to go to Szczecin to calm people down, including, inter alia, the local academic community.

Surender Khumar Bhutani, UNITED NEWS OF INDIA: Mr Minister, you mentioned that six foreigners were found to have AIDS. Could you tell us what nationality they were, what citizenship they had?

Urban: No, I cannot and would not want to because public reaction to such information is of the wrong kind.

Of the wrong kind in the sense that if I state that a member of certain nationality was a carrier of AIDS, this gives rise to simple generalizations to the effect that all members of the nationality in question are carriers of AIDS.

Closing today's press conference, I would like to get some idea of whether there is any sense in holding a press conference next week. I am rather reluctant not to hold a press conference because following the referendum, the press conference was held on Monday night, and this gave rise to comment that there was some political significance behind the fact that there was no press conference on the Tuesday.

On the other hand, I suppose that most of you will be away, and I do not expect any particularly important events to take place in Poland over the festive period. The calendar of events will not be that rich. So, I would quite simply like to ask... Perhaps I will put it this way—who of you would be definitely interested in attending a press conference next Tuesday?

Thank you. There will not be a press conference.

I will stop myself from asking who of you are interested in these conferences at all so as not to lose my job. I wish all of you a happy New Year since we will not see each other again this year.

Maciej Gorski: I would also like to wish you a happy New Year on behalf of all the employees of the INTERPRESS Center.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. Thank you, Mr Minister.

Urban: I would also like to thank you for the cards I have received from many of you.

Law on 1988 National Plan Released

AU251915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1412 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 25/12/1987—The law on the national plan of socioeconomic development of Romania in 1988, passed yesterday by the Grand National Assembly, was released. The plan reflects the primary concern in the five-year period spanning 1986-1990 to concentrate efforts along the line of intensive reproduction, utmost utilization of the productive potential, the application in production of the technico-scientific gains. This policy synthetically reflects the tasks of raising the national income by 9.0-10.0 per cent and the net industrial production 11.0-12.0 per cent from 1987, which are higher growth rates than that of the social product (6.0-6.5 per cent) and of the industrial marketable production (7.0-8.0 per cent). The value of the net and global farm output are in the same relationship, growing 6.0-6.5 and 5.0-5.5 per cent respectively.

The plan provisions on the development of the foreign economic relationships secures the country's active participation in international trade exchanges and economic cooperation. The foreign trade turnover will grow 8.0-9.0 per cent next year from 1987.

Total investments in the economy go up 3.0-3.5 per cent as against last year, totalling 255 billion lei. These will be used to speed up the commissioning of units under construction. Priority will be given to the increase of the raw materials and energy base, the implementation of the programmes of modernization and equipment of industrial units with new high-tech machines and plant, while substantially cutting construction works from investments.

The orientation toward a growing economic efficiency shows in plan provisions on the increase of labour productivity in the national industry by 8.0-9.0 per cent and the reduction of production spending in 1000 lei marketable production by 50 lei.

The direct link of the economic development, growth of national wealth and continual rise in the peoples material and spiritual welfare shows in the provisions of the plan for raising the remuneration of the working staff and peasants' incomes derived from work in producer cooperative farms and personal farmsteads by 1.8 per cent, of retail sales by 1.3 per cent and services to the population by 10.0-11.0 per cent.

Law on Agricultural, Food Plan

AU282040 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Dec 87 p 2

["Law on the 1987 Development Plan for Agriculture, Food Industry, Forestry, and Water Management of the SR of Romania"; adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 23 December in Bucharest]

[Text] The Grand National Assembly of the SR of Romania adopts the present law.

Article 1—The 1988 development plan for agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management of the SR of Romania is adopted.

The main indicators for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management are:

No	Indicator	percentages, calculated on the basis of prices on 30 November 1987 Increase compared to 1987
1.	Overall agricultural production	5.0-5.5
2.	Net agricultural production	6.0-6.5
3.	Industrial commodity production	7.5-9.0
4.	Production value of forestry units	1.0
5.	Foreign trade volume	8.0
6.	Labor productivity calculated on the basis of commodity production value:	
	—in agriculture	8.0
	—in industry	11.0
7.	Reduction of expenditures per 1,000 lei of commodity production	lei:
	—in state agricultural enterprises	56.0
	—in agricultural mechanization stations	12.5
	—in industry	24.9
8.	Incomes of the peasantry, derived from work in agricultural production cooperatives and private farming	1.8

Article 2—In order to fulfill the targets of the new agrarian revolution, attain the agricultural production envisaged in the plan and special programs, and firmly apply the principle of regional self-management and self-sufficiency, the Council of Ministers will see to it that the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food Industry and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences, and the executive committees of county people's councils and of Bucharest Municipality will take steps to:

a) fulfill tasks to expand agricultural and arable lands and strictly observe established deadlines for recovering and reclaiming lands for agricultural purposes from areas assigned to investment projects and other purposes;

b) make complete and intensive use of the productive potential of the land stock, by ensuring that each owner makes full use of agricultural areas, in accordance with their planned use, and further carrying out land improvement and organization operations;

c) introduce and expand the cultivation of the most productive strains and hybrids, produce and use biologically superior seeds, ensure an optimal plant density in keeping with the provisions of the law, fertilize and tend the crops at optimal times, prevent and combat plant diseases and pests, and carry out the necessary irrigation work on all areas equipped with irrigation systems, by seeing to it that all equipment is used rationally and that fuel and electric power consumption is reduced;

d) use all agricultural lands assigned for secondary and rotation crops;

e) harvest, transport, and store crops at the optimal time in order to cut losses to a minimum and ensure in time the necessary areas for preserving and storing products;

f) develop animal breeding in the socialist sector of agriculture and in private farming by:

—improving breeds and breeding, achieving the planned birth rates, and reducing losses to a minimum;

—increasing average animal outputs and strictly observing animal delivery weights stipulated in the plan;

—increasing fodder outputs per hectare and fodder yields on natural pastures, by expanding melioration work in such areas, more extensively using bulk fodder and by-products, and increasing their nutritive value;

—modernizing livestock complexes and farms by adopting inexpensive solutions, so as to ensure proper shelter and the necessary amount of water for livestock and to mechanize operations that require a high volume of work;

g) improve production and labor organization in all agricultural units, firmly apply the overall contract system, continuously perfect labor norms, establish manpower consumption levels for each operation, increase the spirit of responsibility for strictly applying production technologies and performing high-quality agricultural operations on schedule, and strengthen order and discipline;

h) increase the efficiency or economic activity in all state and cooperative agricultural units;

i) periodically train experts, machine operators, and other workers in agriculture with a view to ensuring that they thoroughly master the specific technologies for each crop, species, and animal breed; generally apply the experience of units that have been awarded the high title of "Hero of the New Agrarian Revolution."

Article 3—The Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food Industry and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Marketing Cooperatives, the executive committees of county people's councils and of Bucharest Municipality, the county agricultural directorates, and the agricultural producers councils will assist private producers with seeds and seedlings, valuable stud material, fodder, and technical aid and guidance in order to obtain the largest possible vegetable and animal outputs, in accordance with the uniform program adopted.

Article 4—The Ministry of Food Industry and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce, the Ministry of Agriculture, the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Marketing Cooperatives, and the executive committees of county people's councils will take steps to ensure the completion of the centralized state stocks, in accordance with plan tasks stipulated in this respect for each county.

Article 5—The Ministry of Food Industry and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Central Union of Production, Procurement, and Marketing Cooperatives, and the executive committees of county people's councils and of Bucharest Municipality will take steps to make full and better use of agricultural raw materials in the food industry and to use to capacity the existing production facilities. The range of foodstuffs will be further diversified in accordance with requirements of a rational diet.

Article 6—Investments in agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management will be mainly designed for completing projects begun in former years and for attaining the targets envisaged in the 1988 programs on improving the organization and modernization of production processes and in other approved programs for these sectors of activity.

In order to achieve the planned investment projects, steps will be taken to:

a) ensure studies and the technical-economic documentation for new projects;

b) implement investment projects on the basis of standardized technologies and blueprints; further cut back on metal, cement, and other intensive energy-consuming materials; make large-scale use of local materials; and use other reusable materials;

c) put into operation, on schedule, investment projects in agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management by ensuring a smooth and steady activity on worksites, guaranteeing equipment deliveries in accordance with planned execution deadlines, observing schedules for technical and mechanical tests, and training in good time the necessary manpower for properly exploiting the new production capacities.

Article 7—Under the coordination of the National Council for Science and Education, the following organizations—the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food Industry and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce,

the central institutes, the Academy of Agricultural and Forestry Sciences, and the scientific research, technological engineering, and design units—in cooperation with the National Committee for Science and Technology, the State Planning Committee, and the Ministry of Technical-Material Supply and Control of the Management of Fixed Assets, will ensure that scientific research increases its contribution by:

a) working out new technologies to restore and increase the productive potential of eroded, sandy, and saline soils; perfecting soil fertilization and preparation methods; and organizing optimal crop rotation systems;

b) creating new strains and hybrids of seeds and seedlings of better quality and higher productive potential, that are resistant to low temperatures, drought, other unfavorable environmental conditions, diseases, and pests;

c) working out methods and technologies to fully combat plant diseases and pests in order to reduce the use of chemical substances and the polluting effects on agricultural products;

d) improving animal breeds to increase their productive potential; developing new technologies to better capitalize on the fodder base, including the use of new resources; reducing the specific consumption of fodder; markedly increasing production on pastures and natural hayfields; and establishing more efficient methods to prevent, diagnose, and treat diseases;

e) introducing into the economic flow new and nonconventional resources by fully using agricultural raw materials and creating products and processed foodstuffs with a high nutritive value that can ensure rational nutrition in keeping with scientifically substantiated norms;

f) improving manufacturing technologies in the sugar, meat, and tobacco industry in order to reduce energy consumption, produce foodstuffs rich in proteins and vitamins, and cut down the content of chemical substances and harmful chemical and microbiological ingredients;

g) cultivating new plant strains with a high degree of useful ingredients, in order to increase the efficiency of sugar extraction from sugar beet and oil extraction from oil-bearing seeds, and ensuring other nonconventional raw materials;

h) ensuring a faster application of scientific research results in the production process, in order to obtain superior outputs, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Article 8—In order to fulfill the tasks and goals of the national plan for the conservation and development of the forestry stock, the Ministry of Silviculture will take steps to:

a) protect, conserve, and develop the forestry fund by strictly observing approved felling quotas;

b) increase the productive potential of woods, judiciously administer timber resources, and combat waste;

c) regenerate woods and improve poorly productive ones, carry out reforestation work, and promote the cultivation of valuable domestic species;

d) improve the protective functions of forests;

e) increase the harvesting and better use of forest fruit, natural resources, and other by-products, and develop game and fishing in mountain waters.

Article 9—In the water management sector, steps will be taken to:

a) improve the waters network in keeping with the approved program in order to meet requirements for drinking and industrial waters, irrigations, electrical energy, and so forth;

b) increase the recycling rate of industrial waters, cut back losses to a minimum, purify and recover useful ingredients from used waters, and make use of residual muds;

c) administer and preserve water quality, by combating all sources of pollution.

Article 10—In order to increase the efficiency of the foreign trade activity, steps will be taken to achieve the planned commodity stock for export, by specializing production facilities and enterprises that will exclusively or for the most part ensure the variety and quality of goods required by foreign partners as well as a steady increase in the hard currency revenues of products; likewise, steps will be taken to make the most effective use of foreign currency funds allocated for imports, by giving priority to domestic raw and other materials, fuel, machines, and equipment; reduce hard currency expenditures on goods transportation; and conclude and expand economic cooperation ventures with other countries.

Article 11—In 1988 special emphasis will be placed on increasing economic efficiency in all sectors of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management, on markedly raising labor productivity and reducing production costs, on firmly applying the programs to improve the organization and modernization of production processes, economic-financial regulations, and costs limits per product, and on using all resources with maximum efficiency.

Article 12—The indicators of the 1988 plan for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management of the SR of Romania will be specified for each plan executor in a State Council decree.

Article 13—The Council of Ministers will see to it that the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Food Industry and Acquisition of Agricultural Produce, the Ministry of Silviculture, the National Council of Waters, economic departments and general directorates, central departments, enterprises, and the executive committees of county people's councils and of Bucharest Municipality take firm and resolute steps to integrally fulfill the provisions of the 1988 plan for the development of agriculture, food industry, forestry, and water management of the SR of Romania.

Manescu's Report to Grand National Assembly

AU231859 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1758 GMT 23 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/12/1987—Empowered by the Standing Bureau of the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development, Manea Manescu, vice-chairman of that body, read during the 23 December session of the GNA [Grand National Assembly] the bill concerning the functioning of the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development of Romania, a party and state body having the role to work out the guidelines and the single national plans of economic and social development, submitting it for debate and approval.

The bill sets the attributions of the higher council—a collective body planning the entire activity and managing the society on the basis of the single national plan, a broad democratic forum made up of party and state cadres, workers and farmers, scientists and men of letters.

Studying the economic and social realities and function of the targets of the general progress of the Romanian society, the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development scientifically substantiates the plans and programmes for the development of the national economy, their organic harmonization with longrange forecasts, improves the economic mechanism, steadily strengthens worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration. The Higher Council sets measures for the integral utilization of the country's material and financial resources, through the single national plan and the state budget, in order to achieve an intensive economic growth, in industry, agricultures, in the other areas, to increase the national income at a high rate and judiciously use for the development fund and the improvement of the standard of living of the entire people.

Through working out of the guidelines and single national plans, through its active contribution to the attainment of the goals set, the Higher Council ensures the continuous improvement of the economic and social activities, the rallying of the forces of the entire people for the material and spiritual progress of the society.

In order to raise the activity of this broadly democratic forum, which gathers the best forces of the Romanian society, onto a higher level, the speaker said, the law stipulates that the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania be chairman of the Higher Council of Economic and Social Development and chairman of the Standing Bureau of the Higher Council.

In conclusion Manea Manescu expressed the belief that the endorsement by the Grand National Assembly of the bill regarding the functioning and attributions of the higher council was an important contribution to the further improvement of the management of the economic and social life.

PEC Meeting Examines Balance of Payments

AU281946 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1643 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 28/12/1987—Monday, 28 December, a meeting of the Executive Political Committeee of the CC of the RCP was held under the chairmanship of RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu.

During the meeting the participants approached certain problems regarding the performance of Romania's balance of foreign returns and payments in 1987 and the provisions for 1988. The present situation in point of collecting the outstanding debt and the programme of payments of the country's foreign debt.

The participants considered that a number of good results have been achieved in these fields in 1987, which helped Romania's balance of foreign returns and payments conclude with a surplus owing to a volume of exports larger than in 1986, and to the size given to imports and spending, according to the plan.

Next year's balance of returns and payments of the country stands in tight correlation with the stipulations in the plans regarding equally imports and exports from and to the socialist countries and the convertible-currency ones. In this respect provisions exist that concomitantly with enhancing the production meant to be exported, the activity of capitalizing the important reserves of products extant in stock should be intensified. At the same time measures have been established to collect from other countries their debt falling due to Romania. Starting from this in 1988 important reserves will be created to ensure equally the imports provided for in the plan, the other currency spending as well as the payment of the foreign debt.

The Executive Political Committee decided no longer to resort to any form of credit whatsoever.

The fact was pointed out that the implementation of all these goals asks for a mobilization of all the forces towards the materialization of the plan under the best circumstances, for turning out high-quality production

to be exported, for a higher capitalization of all the reserves of the national economy, for a judicious management of the economic and financial resources, a continuous improvement in the quality and competitiveness of the Romanian products, a greater efficiency in all the domains of activity.

Profit-Sharing Fund Payments Implemented

AU281947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1718 GMT 28 Dec 87

["Substantial Sums Given to Working People From the Profit-Sharing Fund"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/12/1987—In keeping with the RCP and Romanian socialist state policy of ensuring, in step with the general development of the national economy, ever better working and living conditions for the whole people, of ever closely linking incomes to results scored in production, on the basis of a resolution of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, working people received in December over 2,200 million lei, i.e 50 per cent of the profit-sharing fund for this year.

More than 6,600,000 people working in industry, transport, construction and other sectors of the national economy, benefited from these funds, paid on these days before the New Year's Eve, from the initiative and at the proposal of the party general secretary, Nicolae Ceausescu. 4,200,000 working people received 15 per cent of the monthly remuneration fund, some 1,900,000 got 12 per cent, and over 500,000—10 percent of the monthly remuneration fund.

The overall calculation of the profit-sharing fund and the payment of the remainder 50 per cent for the whole year 1987 shall be done in the first half of the next year, at the close of the balance-sheet-based activities.

Further Reportage on RCP National Conference

Coman Report on Credentials

AU230854 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Dec 87 p 3

["Report of the Credentials Commission Presented by Comrade Ion Coman," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, at the RCP National Conference in Bucharest 14 December]

[Text] Esteemed comrade delegates: Convened on the basis of the decisions of the RCP Central Committee plenum of 24 June 1987, the RCP National Conference—an event of major importance in the life of the Romanian Communists and of all our homeland's citizens—was preceded by extraordinary conferences of the county and Bucharest municipal party organizations that were attended by the members of the county party committees, of the county auditing commissions, and delegations appointed during the general meetings of the communists and during plenary session of the party aktiv.

Within this framework, the Communists and all working people in our homeland firmly expressed their determination to constantly work to implement the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state and the guidelines and recommendations made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general, in order to achieve the targets of the 13th RCP Congress to the letter, a sure guarantee for Romania's advance on the road of socialism and communism.

On behalf of the Communists and all citizens of our homeland, the participants in the debates paid fervent and warm homage to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the celebrated leader of the party and of our country, the great hero of the Romanian nation, and the humanist thinker and eminent communist militant, who for 55 years has dedicated all his life and activity to national and social liberation and to building socialism and communism in Romania. At the same time, the participants highly appreciated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's decisive role in formulating and implementing our party's and state's domestic and foreign policy and in improving the organization and leadership of the entire society to implement the party program and all plans for our homeland's socioeconomic development.

With particular satisfaction and patriotic pride, the participants very highly appreciated Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's untiring activity in the international arena and the peace missions he undertook, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, in all parts of the world to create an atmosphere of understanding and cooperation among all peoples, to solve the complex problems facing humanity by peaceful means, to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to build a better and more just world on our planet.

Both in the accountability reports and in the other documents presented at the conference, as well as during the debates an extensive and exacting examination was made—in a critical and self-critical spirit—of the activity carried out to fulfill the regional socioeconomic development plans, and specific measures were also established to ensure the elimination of shortfalls, the fulfillment of the 1987 plan and thorough preparation of the 1988 plan, and to enhance the role of the party organizations and of the other bodies of our workers revolutionary democracy in mobilizing and rallying the efforts of all working people to commendably fulfill our tasks.

In an atmosphere of great party exactingness and responsibility, the extraordinary conferences of the county and Bucharest municipal party organizations discussed the 27 November decision of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and established measures that are required

to enhance revolutionary determination in implementing the party decisions and state laws, to improve the party's internal activity and all organizational activities, and to constantly strengthen order and discipline, the patriotic revolutionary training of cadres and of all Communists.

In the spirit of the decisions of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee, special decisions were adopted which express the commitment of the county party organizations to work very determinedly to enhance the responsibility of the party and state activists, of Communists, and of all working people to commendably fulfill their tasks and honor obligations.

On the basis of the decision of the RCP Central Committee plenum of 24 June this year, the Party National Conference is made up of 3,106 delegates, of which 488 are full and candidate members of the Central Committee and members of the Central Auditing Commission, and 2,618 are delegates elected at the extraordinary conferences of the county and Bucharest municipal party organizations.

Verifying the documents regarding the election of delegates to the Party National Conference, the Credentials Commission notes that the rules for the ratio of representation—one delegate per 1,400 party members—established by the RCP Central Committee plenum of June this year, have been observed to the letter by taking as a basis the number of party members on 31 August 1987, which totaled 3,684,207 party members.

The conference is attended by 3,078 delegates; 28 delegates are absent with permission.

The social composition of the full and candidate members of the RCP Central Committee and of the Central Auditing Commission, and of the delegates elected to the national conference is as follows: 1,078 are workers who work directly in the production process; 468 are peasants; 165 are engineers and technicians; 178 are executives from industry, agriculture, construction, transportation, and goods turnover; 218 are cadres from scientific research, design, and education; 627 are party and mass organization activists; 255 are men of culture and art, journalists, physicians, jurists, economists, students, and personnel from the central and local state apparatus; 65 are officers; and 52 are pensioners.

Examining the composition of the delegates according to the length of their party membership, 75 are party members with length of service dating from before 23 August 1944; 511 became party members between 1944-1948; and 2,520 have been party members since 1952.

Of the total number of delegates, 91.66 percent are Romanians; 6.82 percent are Romanians of Hungarian origin; 0.71 percent are Romanians of German origin; while 0.81 percent are Romanians of other nationalities, something that is fully in keeping with the party composition in terms of nationalities. Of the total number of delegates, 1,102 are women, making up 35.5 percent.

The conference is attended by two comrades who hold the high title of "Hero of the SR of Romania"; 62 are "Heroes of Socialist Labor" or "Heroes of the New Agrarian Revolution," while 2,435 delegates have been awarded orders and medals of the SR of Romania; of the total number of delegates, 253 are deputies to the Grand National Assembly, while 1,016 are deputies to the people's councils.

Of the 3,106 delegates, 1,375 are graduates of higher educational institutions, while 2,026 have attended various party schools.

The delegates to the Party National Conference have been elected from among the ranks of the best Communists who, through the devotion, determination, and revolutionary enthusiasm they show in implementing our party's and state's policy, have earned the esteem and appreciation of the collectives in which they are active, who have a thorough political-ideological and professional training, and set an example of conduct within the family and in society.

The Party National Conference is also attended by 1,180 guests.

Esteemed comrade delegates, verifying the documents of the extraordinary conferences of the county and Bucharest municipal party organizations, the Credentials Commission has noted that the statutory provisions and those of the RCP Central Committee plenum of 24 June this year have been respected to the letter and proposes that the conference validate the mandates of all delegates to the RCP National Conference.

We have not worked with utmost responsibility in order to reach item-specified production, thus we owe the national economy important quantities of coking coal, copper concentrate, steel, finished solid rolled steel, internal combustion engines, and technological equipment.

The results we have achieved in agriculture do not please us, since they are below the real possibilities of our county. The differences in production results attained by some units and even by agro-industrial councils with similar conditions show serious shortcomings in the work of some party bodies and organizations, management cadres, and experts.

Examining all these shortcomings in the light of the decision of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee endorsed on 27 November 1987, in every party organization and within the bodies of the workers' revolutionary self-management we established concrete measures to strengthen the party spirit in our whole political-organizational and educational activity in order to

urgently eliminate the shortcomings that have nothing in common with the high Communist virtues and with the workers' revolutionary traditions in Resita, the citadel of the "ever burning" foundry fires, where throughout the years many cadres, with a keen workers' awareness and professional skill, have been trained and strengthened.

I report to you that the measures adopted by the county party committee, by the party bodies and organizations, and by the collective management bodies to better prepare for 1988 and to ensure the material-technical base and the contracts, guarantee that we will fulfill and even overfulfill the planned production, the value of which will exceed 25 billion lei, by steadily honoring our obligations toward domestic and foreign customers in terms of providing good quality products. Likewise, we will firmly apply your recommendations and guidelines much esteemed comrade secretary general, in order to radically improve our agricultural activity and obtain big crops, in accordance with the requirements of the new agrarian revolution.

In concluding his speech, the speaker said: The Communists and all working people in Caras-Severin County solemnly pledge to the conference and to you, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, to work with utmost responsibility, exactingness, and with patriotic devotion to unflinchingly implement the decisions of the 13th RCP Congress and the documents that will be adopted by this high democratic forum of the party, being convinced that our work is the supreme homage we can pay to the long revolutionary activity carried out by the most beloved son of the nation and the founder of modern Romania—the RCP secretary general and the president of the SR of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Section Meetings Reported

AU241014 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 17 December on pages 4 and 5 carries 8 reports ranging between 1,000 and 1,400 words on the 15 December proceedings of the RCP National Conference sections, each of which was presided over by either a full or candidate member of the PEC or by a secretary of the RCP Central Committee. All reports, totaling some 10,000 words, provide a joint outline of speeches made by various delegates to the conference, which deal with energy issues, agricultural yields, ecological balance, construction work, the need to increase economic efficiency, to improve the activity of party bodies and organizations, and with Romania's international activity and foreign policy.

Proceedings of the following sections are reported:

"Section for the Development of the Forces of Production, the Raw Material Base, and Energy Production, and on Implementing the Program for the Country's Socioeconomic Development," the proceedings of which are presided over by Constantin Dascalescu, member of the PEC and prime minister of the government. According to the report, the proceedings of this section "were attended by 635 delegates and guests and 23 comrades took the floor." Apart from dealing with achievements in this area, in their speeches the delegates also "placed special emphasis on examining the shortfalls in fulfilling tasks on the development of the energy and raw material base." They also pledge to "work in a revolutionary spirit to implement the the guidelines and recommendations included in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report" to the conference.

"Section for Agriculture, Forestry, Food Industry, and Water Administration." The proceedings of this section are presided over by Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the RCP Central Committee. According to the report, the proceedings "were attended by 478 delegates and guests and 29 comrades took the floor." In their speeches, the delegates examined "the activity of the party bodies and organization" and tangible ways and means to "achieve larger yields in order to match the requirements of the new agrarian revolution." They also "stressed the great potential of our agriculture," which is proved by the "achievements attained thus far." In conclusion, the speakers pledged to "work with great devotion and all their skills to implement the programs" for this sector.

"Section for Scientific Research, Technological Development, and Introduction of Technical Progress, for Perfecting the Organizational Framework and Modernizing the Production Process, and for Training the Labor Force and Cadres," the proceedings of which "were presided over by Comrade Elena Ceausescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister of the government." According to the report, the "proceedings were attended by 488 delegates and guests and 29 comrades took the floor." The speakers "stressed that scientific research has contributed to directly solving important problems connected with the implementation of programs for the organization and modernization of the production process." They also "examined the deficiencies in the activity of some ministries, central departments, enterprises, research and educational institutes" on the "rapid application of results in the production process." The delegates then pledge to "commendably implement the guidelines and recommendations made by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu." They also praise Elena Ceausescu for her "noteworthy contribution to implementing the programs of the country's socioeconomic development."

"Section for Investments, Constructions, Transportation, and Telecommunications," the proceedings of which "were presided over by Comrade Ludovic Fazekas, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and deputy prime minister of the government." According to the report, the proceedings "were attended by 354 delegates and guests and 38 comrades took the floor." After stressing the "efforts made by working people" in this area "to fulfill plan tasks" and reduce "specific material and energy consumption," in a critical

and self-critical spirit, the delegates also "referred to certain shortfalls and lags" owing to deficiencies in their activity, reason for which "appropriate measures were adopted" to eliminate such shortfalls. In conclusion, the speakers pledge to "combat the spirit of complacency, bureaucracy, and red-tape" and to responsibly fulfill their tasks.

"Section for a Balanced and Proportionate Development of All Zones of the Country, for Regional Town Planning, for the Improvement of the Standard of Living, for Constantly Increasing the Quality of Life, and for Developing the Production of Consumer Goods, Trade, and Public Services." According to the report, the proceedings of this section "were presided over by Comrade Gheorghe Radulescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and vice president of the State Council; they were attended by 625 delegates and guests and 26 comrades took the floor."

After stressing that "greater attention has to be paid to ensuring an ecological balance" and to act against pollution, the speakers pointed out that "the work style and methods must be improved" to "eliminate shortfalls," and signs of "complacency and superficiality."

In conclusion they "fully endorsed the documents submitted to the national conference for discussion" and "pledged" to "commendably fulfill their tasks."

"Section for the International Activity of Our Party and State and for Foreign Trade," the proceedings of which are presided over by Ion Stoian, candidate member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee. According to the report, the proceedings "were attended by 419 delegates and guests and 26 comrades took the floor." In their speeches, the delegates "fully endorsed" our "party's and state's overall international activity placed in the service of the ideals of peace, understanding, and the progress of the Romanian people and of all peoples in the world." They endorse Romania's policy of constantly developing friendship and cooperation with all countries and stress "the historic significance of the Soviet-American treaty on medium- and shorter-range missiles" and emphasize that "this first step on the road to disarmament should be followed up with new measures to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Europe and throughout the world, to halt nuclear testing, eliminate chemical weapons, radically reduce conventional weapons and military expenditures, and halt the militarization of outer space." According to the report, some of the delegates also examined results in foreign trade and in international economic cooperation within CEMA and with other countries. They also stressed the need to "radically improve all foreign trade activities" and made "specific proposals to improve the competitiveness of Romanian products in foreign markets. In conclusion, the delegates pledge to "ensure an even balance of payments and to firmly apply the party and state decisions to eliminate" Romania's "foreign debt in the shortest time possible." They also pledge to do all they can "to implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions, to commendably fulfill the tasks set forth in Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report" to the conference, and to "contribute to promoting the party's and state's foreign policy of developing relations with all states in the world."

"Section for State Affairs and Social Problems, for the Scientific Leadership of Society and the Development of Socialist Democracy, for Perfecting the Financial-Economic Mechanism and for Constantly Increasing the Efficiency of Economic Activity." According to the report, this section "was presided over by Manea Manescu, member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and vice president of the State Council, attended by 451 delegates and guests, and 40 delegates took the floor."

After extolling the activity carried out by President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu and examining a "wide range of problems on the development of the socialist system, the scientific leadership of society, and perfecting the economic-financial system," the speakers stressed the need to "strengthen the role of the state in administering socialist ownership." They also stress the need to firmly struggle against "red-tape" and to promote an "efficient spirit of work that will facilitate the fulfillment of all tasks." They criticized some "shortfalls" and "inappropriate results in the management of the economic activity" and stressed the need to to strengthen order and discipline.

In conclusion, the speakers pledge that "they will work with devotion and in a revolutionary spirit to achieve the targets set forth by the RCP National Conference."

"Section for Party Activity, and for Organizational, Ideological-Political, and Educational Issues of Mass and Civic Organizations." According to the report, this section "was presided over by Emil Bobu, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, attended by 638 delegates and guests, and 23 comrades took the floor."

In their speeches, the delegates speak about "the organizational, political-ideological, and educational activity of the party," extoll "Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's inexhaustible energy and his complete identification with the supreme aspirations of all nation," and Ceausescu's "concern with constantly increasing the leading role of the party, improving the quality of party work, and with promoting a dynamic work style" in all areas.

The delegates also express words of appreciation for Elena Ceausescu's contribution to developing science and education. According to the report, discussions in this section focused on "the criticism voiced by the party secretary general about the fact that there were certain shortfalls in the political-organizational and educational activity and a weakened discipline, responsibility, and party spirit." The speakers then mention ways and

means to "improve activities in all areas, especially the activity of the party bodies and organizations," and "examined" the "cause of the shortfalls and failings in the party activity."

The delegates "spoke about the concern of the party bodies and organizations to improve the forms and methods of mass political activity in order to mobilize the working people to fulfill their tasks."

In conclusion, the delegates "pledged not to spare any efforts to implement the decisions adopted by the Party National Conference and Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's recommendations and guidelines to substantially improve the quality of party work."

Manescu 16 Dec Address

AU231625 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Dec 87 pp 5 and 6

[Report on "Speech by Comrade Manea Manescu," member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and Vice President of the State Council of the SR of Romania, at the RCP National Conference on 16 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades:

At the great national forum of Communists, I listened with profound interest to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's brilliant report, which substantiates, through an original political and scientific concept, various theses and orientations of vital importance for Romania's present and future.

The key innovating concepts and ideas that give political substance to this report most clearly reflect the overall personality of our illustrious party-state leader Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, as an erudite revolutionary thinker and humanist of vast culture.

The program document of broad perspective presented to the national conference—which expresses the fruitful dialectical and revolutionary thinking of our party secretary general—is based on a vast and comprehensive analysis of realities of the Romanian society and the contemporary world. Through its high theoretical level, the report makes an outstanding contribution of the new society in our country and to developing the heritage of scientific socialism and the foundation of universal science.

In the comprehensive vision of our secretary general, the socialist and communist revolution and construction represents a continuous process of socioeconomic development. At this democratic forum of our party and people, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu clearly substantiated the scientific criteria of defining the stages of the revolutionary process, the characteristics of each stage, and the key features of the interrelationship between various moments of socialist construction, which constitute an integral part of our national history.

Within the framework of this vast revolutionary process, the Ninth RCP Congress has inaugurated the most fertile period in Romania's history, which our diligent, good, and wise people have called, with patriotic pride, the glorious "Nicolae Ceausescu Era." This era is also appreciated internationally for its huge socioeconomic achievements; it is also appreciated by the broad progressive circles of world public opinion, which show great regard and particular esteem for its founder, the president of Romania.

The epic of the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society—a brilliant and basic political decision of our great leader unanimously approved by the whole nation—is being implemented through the self-denying and heroic work of the workers class, peasantry, intelligentsia, and all the people, under the leadership of the RCP.

In the dynamic process of the socialist revolution and construction, a particularly important role emerges on the current stage, namely, on implementing the provisions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan, which will mark Romania's transition to a higher development stage—that of a medium-developed country from an economic viewpoint and later, by the year 2000, that of a comprehensively developed socialist country. The report brilliantly outlines the strategy of our fatherland's socioeconomic progress at this stage, on the basis of the latest achievements of the scientific-technical revolution and of the new agrarian revolution, and by expanding the intensive factors of enlarged reproduction and achieving a new quality of work and life.

The option of the party and of the country's president—which has the endorsement of the whole nation—to promote a policy of rational distribution of the national income and to continuously maintain a high accumulation rate to prove its decisive significance for the socioeconomic development of the fatherland and the well-being of the people.

Further the speaker said: Quite remarkable for their high scientific substantiation are the party secretary general's theses on the need to ensure a uniform management of all sectors and of the entire society, by consciously applying the laws of socialist construction and other objective economic laws—an essential prerequisite for steadily developing the forces of production, improving the relations of production, and promoting Romania's overall progress.

Presenting a vast picture of the progress of the Romanian socialist society, the party secretary general reiterated the vital need to ceaselessly strengthen socialist ownership—an objective law of building the new system and a durable foundation of ensuring a uniform planned

management—which creates conditions for avoiding disruptions specific to a market economy and facilitates a proportional and balanced development of all sectors of socioeconomic life.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has defined the characteristics of the Romanian concept of the national uniform plan, which is indivisible and comprehensive; the plan makes full use of and capitalizes on all the country's natural labor and financial resources in the process of socialist reproduction. In this respect, as our secretary general stressed, management and planning activity is faced with new and great tasks, namely to mobilize all working people in developing the material production, science, education, and all spheres of socioeconomic life and in further increasing the national income, the base of the whole nation's well-being.

The speaker then emphasized that the Romanian president's constant concern with improving management, planning, and the workers revolutionary democracy is strongly reflected in the scientifically substantiated practical requirement to enhance the role of the Supreme Council for Socioeconomic Development in elaborating long-term guidelines, drafting national uniform plans, and ensuring their unflinching implementation.

The very complex problems of the country's comprehensive progress on the basis of the national uniform plan are setting new tasks for our economic science. Research activity in this field must mainly concentrate on studying the basic problems of building the new society and the interrelationship between economic, social, and political factors; it must also study the development of the Romanian socialist society in the context of phenomena and trends in the international economy and the contemporary world. The party secretary general has often dealt with the tasks incumbent upon economic research, particularly those regarding the improvement of social management; we are duty bound to satisfy this demand, at the level of current and future requirements for building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

In the period dealt with by the national conference, that is the period from the 13th congress to date, important results were scored in industry, agriculture, and other fields of activity. However, a thorough examination of reality shows that we failed to fully use the strong potential available to the Romanian economy. In the report, the secretary general openly presented the shortcomings and negative states of affairs evident in the first two years of the 5-year plan. We again proved the political and moral force of the party, which has always boldly criticized mistakes committed and has taken steps to eliminate shortfalls and improve all socioeconomic activity. A brilliant example for all of us is the party, patriotic, and revolutionary spirit as well as the consistent spirit of exactingness and devotion always shown by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, eminent communist militant, who for more than 55 years has unswervingly worked to strengthen the unity and increase the political vitality of the RCP.

The orientations included in the party secretary general's report, which was adopted as document of the national conference, will make a decisive contribution to further increasing the role of the party as the vital center of the nation, state, and social life, improving the revolutionary workers democracy, self-management, self-administration, and the economic-financial mechanism, enhancing order and discipline in all units, and strengthening the responsibility of each working man in exemplarily fulfilling tasks stipulated by the uniform national plan. Competence, initiative, creativity, revolutionary spirit, and firmness in action are the factors that decisively influence the efficiency of practical work in the complex and dynamic process of the material production and of the overall socioeconomic development.

Stressing the dialectics of interaction between our society's material and cultural development, the report emphasized—on the basis of requirements formulated in the party program and in the ideological program—the increasingly important role played by science, education, and culture, and the role of the political and ideological activity and of patriotic revolutionary education in building the new society. In the spirit of these imperatives, we must pay even greater attention to changing the awareness, to achieving a revolution in the way of thinking and action of the people and cadres in all areas of socioeconomic activity, and we must pay attention to broadening the professional, scientific, and cultural horizon—basic conditions for raising our homeland to new heights of progress and civilization.

On the basis of an analysis so common to him, our party leader—the speaker then continued—has described the complex image of the present-day world dominated by the huge arsenals of nuclear and conventional weapons, by strong contradictions, crises, and conflicts, and by the deterioration of the world economic situation, the worsening of the situation of the developing countries, and by the intensification of underdevelopment. On the basis of this analysis permeated by an articulate scientific and revolutionary spirit, he emphatically stressed the need to seek clear answers to the new basic problems arising from the current situation, answers which should be in keeping with the aspirations for development, peace, freedom, and independence of nations.

The great response by humanity to the initiatives and steps of our great president at an international level and the response to his original solutions to the complex problems of our time have gained universal scope, thus raising the international prestige of our homeland—the SR of Romania—to the highest pinnacles.

Our socialist nation is vigorously proceeding toward a new and higher stage of socioeconomic development, while strongly dynamizing the creative efforts of all our people in commendably implementing the historic decisions of the 13th RCP Congress, this year's tasks, and those of next year and of the 5-year plan up to the year 2000.

We have a powerful party headed by the one who inspires and organizes our victories on the road to our communist future, by the champion of advanced ideas and of creative revolutionary actions, by the hero of our nation, and the hero of peace—Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

At this solemn time of great enthusiasm generated by our conference and on the eve of the 40th anniversary of the republic, the thoughts and feelings of warm gratitude, of great consideration, and particular respect of the communists and of our whole nation turn to the beloved leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and to the esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, in token of supreme homage for the titanic activity he is carrying out in the high party and state positions and for his decisive patriotic and revolutionary contribution to the progress and prosperity of Socialist Romania.

In conclusion the speaker said: The report you presented at this conference, much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, is a fervent revolutionary message of national and international significance and turns into an inspiring program of work and of struggle for all our country's sons called upon to firmly rally their creative energy within the tremendous work of building the comprehensively developed socialist society under your leadership, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the ingenious founder of Socialist Romania and the symbol of the great unity between the party and people in our firm advance toward the bright heights of socialism and communism.

Szasz 16 Dec Address

AU241206 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Dec 87 p 6

[Unattributed report on "Speech by Comrade Iosif Szasz," candidate member of the PEC of the RCP Central Committee and first secretary of Caras-Severin County RCP Committee, at the RCP National Conference on 16 December in Bucharest]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades:

The masterly report you, much beloved and esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, presented to the national conference, and its renewing ideas, which open up bright, new prospects in the unflinching implementation of the 13th RCP Congress decisions, represents a true model of wisdom and communist and revolutionary boldness for our whole party and for our whole nation, in our progress on the path of building, on Romanian soil, the most just system in the history of mankind—the socialist and communist system.

Together with the other parts of the country—the speaker further said—as a result of the support given by the party and state leadership and by you personally, much esteemed Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, Caras-Severin County has undergone great socioeconomic development as part of the great socialist achievements that have been registered in the most glorious period of our history, as well as in our awareness, as the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era."

By fulfilling our tasks in accordance with your priceless recommendations and guidelines, we have succeeded in making better use of the technical and human potential of our county's economy; thus, in the first 2 years of the current 5-year plan, we registered a more than 3-billion lei increase in industrial commodity production compared to 1984, an average 9-percent increase in net production, and a 7-percent increase in labor productivity.

This year, by better organizing production and labor, by making more efficient use of the labor force and of the technological potential, and by strengthening order and discipline in our activity we fulfilled the plan provisions for industrial commodity production and labor productivity and fully honored our export contracts. Likewise, we have put 10 new capacities into operation. Taking into account the tradition and the professional experience of our workers' collectives, we have paid great attention to introducing new products required by our national economy.

Please allow me to extend our heartfelt thanks and gratitude to Comrade Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council for Science and Education, outstanding politician and scientist of world renown, under whose direct guidance our county has carried out constant activity in scientific research and technological engineering.

We are greatly honored by the great confidence and responsibility the party leadership has entrusted to some industrial units in our county, to directly participate in the fulfillment of major programs of our national economy and in building the great structures of the "Nicolae Ceausescu Era." Full of pride and satisfaction at being able to make a direct contribution to attaining some objectives that will last forever, our metal workers and machine builders in Caras-Severin County again proved their competence, professional skill, and patriotic self-denial in contributing to the construction of the Danube-Black Sea Canal, of the Portile de Fier II hydropower and navigation station, of the Poarta Alba-Midia-Navodari Canal, and in contributing to the complex development of the Dimbovita and Arges rivers.

In a self-critical way, the speaker further referred to some shortcomings and lags, saying: Reporting on our own activity in a responsible way and in a critical and self-critical manner, in accordance with the greatly demanding and communist requirements and assessments included in the masterly report presented to the national conference by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we must admit that some shortfalls have been manifested in our country's political and organizational work in the fields of industry, agriculture, and in other areas.

Popescu 15 Dec Address

AU241108 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 16 Dec 87 p 7

[Report on "Speech by Comrade Dumitru Radu Popescu, "RCP Central Committee member and chairman of the Writers Union, at the RCP National Conference in Bucharest 15 December]

[Text] Much esteemed and beloved Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, much esteemed Comrade Elena Ceausescu, esteemed comrades:

Listening to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's report and thinking about the fervent words and profound meaning of this document, which is an exceptional, lucid, and revolutionary account of an intensive and decisive stage for the whole evolution of our homeland, a well-known poem came to my mind in which the genius of Romanian poetry, the father of "The Evening Star" voices his opinion about time. There are times that are honored by "chroniclers and bards," times which, through the value of ideas and the upsurge that make up the whole cultural atmosphere, play a decisive role in the national progress and prosperity, and in giving an impetus to the forces of literary creativity! Such a time of our homeland's prosperity, of great inspiration for literature, and of great profuseness in the area of all genres of artistic creativity, we have been going through ever since the Ninth RCP Congress, that event and milestone for Romania's present-day history, which was thought out and implemented by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Continuing, the speaker said: It is this time, in which our writing experienced an intensive and excellent creative impetus, for which we want to express all our gratitude to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. The party secretary general has often and very meaningfully urged us to keep abreast of this time, to discover its heroes, to discern its pinnacles, and openly mention—as sons of these people—our shortfalls. The pages of truth and human and artistic fervor in our books are the fruit of this impulse, which we have heard from our party and state leader, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, with the same patriotic enthusiasm now as well. We also wish to express the gratitude and homage that the writers in Romania want to pay to Comrade Elena Ceausescu whose warm concern and extensive support fully benefits literature.

At a time of summing up things as the time through which we are all going, the writer, the worker, the peasant, the engineer or any other working man comes up with his achievements. The novels, poems, plays, the works of literary criticism and history, and the screenplays prove what we have achieved and the way in which it was achieved. Our writing is our deed that we gladly present here where the situation of the present is assessed and where the steps of the future are measured. And with rightful satisfaction, we can say that we have succeeded in more convincingly and more profoundly coming closer not only to understanding the heroic and wonderful human and intellectual substance of these people to whom we belong, but to also sum it up, through the potential of literature, in pages which we will leave behind as proof of this intensely revolutionary era. A "move to deeds" has taken place as has an activity of capitalizing on the fertile framework created by the new meanings of our political life, which drew the attention of all generations of writers and was the subject of more and more good books inspired by real history and by the today's fervor. All these endeavors are a genuine test of maturity and mastership of whose value and decisive role each writer is aware. The spirit of great exactingness and responsibility in which the communists and all our people are examining their activity make us writers to also think more deeply about our essential mission: to write works in which the people of today will speak for future generations. Is it, therefore, normal for us to ask ourselves: Have we said everything that has to be said about the humanity of which we were born and to which we belong? Does work, day and night, its trials, momentum, and its dilemmas always permeate our books? How close have we come to its truth? The tasks set for literature by the party secretary general in his excellent report may be summed up in a single idea, namely increasing our responsibility to give birth to major works in a major historic time.

Our society has achieved an original framework of asserting culture and educational and cultural work in which writers are proudly participating. I will not speak about the numerous meetings with readers and about the roads we have traveled through towns and villages in the direction of houses of culture, clubs or cultural homes. The second element I feel obliged to speak about at this conference deals with what we have seen, become familiar with, and with what we have experienced together with the people and in their midst. Following the recommendation made so often by the party secretary general and made by him once again at the recent Congress of Political Education and Socialist Culture, we were able to reap benefits in an area dear to writers, namely awareness of Romania today! Understanding of the people who are building this country today! And understanding—from within—of the human, social, and material elements which unmistakenly make up the image of Romania today. We must admit that often we refer to the essential transformations that have occurred in our country, but we do not always grasp the essence or the multifaceted nature of these changes.

We are living in a free and dignified society founded on our multimillenary humane values to which socialism has lent new scope and which it has turned into decisive levers for social progress. We are aware of this and we are also convinced of the responsibility we have toward the party and people in safeguarding and developing these moral values. Therefore, today at the national conference, we pledge not to abandon for a single moment our duties as writers struggling for Romania's progress, and for the cultural, ethic, and moral values of socialism in order to cultivate in the hearts of the working people the basic dignity that emanates from the awareness that they are taking part in a decisive historic construction work. We also express here the unity of the literary front around the party and its secretary general, and we express the sentiment that, drawing their inspiration from the happenings of our time, our books have a chance to withstand time.

The speaker said in conclusion: Culture, art, and civilization can flourish only in conditions of peace. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has affirmed himself as an enthusiastic militant for safeguarding the supreme rights of people and nations, namely the right to peace, life, and creativity. In the light of a strict scientific analysis of the facts in the present-day world, the party secretary general vigorously set forth the truth that, under conditions of the existence of nuclear weapons, a new world war is unacceptable because it would destroy our civilization and humanity. The great responsibility for the present and future of the Romanian people and of the whole of mankind has been reflected and continues to be tellingly reflected in the extensive practical and theoretical activity carried out by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Therefore, permit me, esteemed comrades, to wish Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, on behalf of all writers, many happy new years, good health, and tireless energy and power of work as head of the party and our people, he being a sure guarantee that the worthy virtues of our time will be put down in the chronicle of our eternity!

Ceausescu at Socioeconomic Council Meeting

AU221911 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1739 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 22/12/1987—Tuesday, December 22, President Nicolae Ceausescu chaired the plenary meeting of the Supreme Council of Romania's Economic and Social Development. Together with President Nicolae Ceausescu and Mme Elena Ceausescu, members of the permanent bureau of the council took their seats in the presidium.

The agenda of the plenary meeting included: draft national plan of Romania's socioeconomic development for 1988; draft plan of the development of agriculture, food industry, silviculture and water management for 1988; draft centralized financial plan of socioeconomic development in 1988; draft state budget of the Socialist Republic of Romania in 1988.

The general debates of the plenary meeting were preceded by the study and discussion of the documents on the agenda in the sections of the Supreme Council.

Related to those debates, Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu read a synthesis.

The participants in the plenary meeting appreciated that the draft plans for 1988 ensure the continuous development of the Romanian economy, the growth of production forces, the expansion of the raw and power materials base, the modernization of all branches, through the use of the latest gains of science and technology, the rise of the products' technical and qualitative level.

At the same time, the speakers emphasized that the provisions were in full accord with the targets set by the 13th RCP Congress, with the targets of the present five-year plan period and that they ensured the continuous rise of the national income and, thus, the consistent implementation of the programmes on the country's multilateral development, on the growth of the Romanian people's material and spiritual welfare.

The plenary meeting unanimously approved the documents on the agenda and decided that they should be submitted to the Grand National Assembly.

In conclusion on the proceedings President Nicolae Ceausescu made a speech followed with keen interest and full approval.

Comment on Israel's 'Repressive Actions'

AU232007 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1945 GMT 23 Dec 87

["Statement by the Romanian News Agency—AGERPRES—on the Israeli Authorities' Repressive Actions Against the Palestinian Population in the Occupied Arab Territories"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 23/12/1987—The Romanian news agency AGERPRES is empowered to state:

Public opinion in Romania has learned with deep concern about the Israeli authorities' stepped-up repressive actions against the Palestinian population in the occupied Arab territories on the West Bank of Jordan and Gaza Strip. These reprisals can but deteriorate still more the situation in the area, prejudice the cause of peace in the Middle East and make the efforts for a peaceful settlement of the conflict still more difficult. Public opinion in Romania firmly condemns the repressive and violent acts on the Palestinian population, and requires the Israeli authorities to end them.

The serious events in the region bring out in bold relief the need intensify efforts and actions for the soonest possible establishment of a global, lasting and just peace in the Middle East by way of negotiations, conducive to Israel's withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied in the wake of the 1967 war, to the resolution of the Palestinian people's question through the recognition of its right to self-determination, inclusive of the setting up of an independent Palestinian state of its own, to guaranteed integrity, sovereignty and security of all the states in the area.

Along this line Romania holds the view that a UN-sponsored international conference should be called as soon as possible, to be attended by all the sides concerned, including the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole and legitimate representative as well as by Israel and the permanent members of the Security Council.

Romania considers that everything possible should be done to put an end to any repressive and violent act in the Middle East so that a peaceful solution be found to the conflict and a durable peace and tranquility be established in the region.

Dizdarevic Greets Shultz, Shevardnadze
LD282113 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1512 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, December 28 (TANJUG)—The Mediterranean's nonaligned countries expect their region not to be left aside from positive effects of the U.S.-Soviet agreement in eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles from Europe, emphasize messages sent by Yugoslavia's Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz and Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze.

The messages were presented here today by Kazimir Vidas, assistant Yugoslav federal secretary for foreign affairs on behalf of the Mediterranean nonaligned countries to U.S. Ambassador John Scanlan and Soviet Ambassador Viktor Maltsev.

The U.S.-Soviet agreement is a step in reply to years-long efforts by the nonaligned for eliminating nuclear weapons so as to start a universal and complete disarmament, Dizdarevic's message says.

At their ministerial meeting held on the off-shore island of Brioni, Northern Adriatic, Yugoslavia, last June, the Mediterranean nonaligned countries, namely Cyprus, Egypt, Malta, Yugoslavia, Lebanon, Syria, Tunisia, the PLO, Libya, Algeria and Morocco, voiced their readiness to make a contribution to promoting relations in the Mediterranean, it was recalled.

The Mediterranean nonaligned countries expect of future talks between the superpowers to also cover reductions in nuclear and other armaments in the Mediterranean, the Yugoslav diplomacy head's message points out.

Mojsov Speaks on International Relations
LD282317 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2139 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Split, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Speaking at a public meeting of the Split City Committee of the Croatian LC, president of the SFRY Presidency, Lazar Mojsov, stated that the development of internal relations and economic stagnation are damaging to the international position of Yugoslavia in a way that we did not expect, and that is regarding the state of our economic and financial relations with the world. Speaking in front of a full hall at a public meeting that was attended, among others, by Ante Markovic, president of the Croatian Presidency, Lazar Mojsov considered topical issues in the international position and foreign policy of Yugoslavia, in a speech which lasted 1 hour.

President of the SFRY Presidency noted that the decision on heavy borrowing was made not by one individual, but by the Yugoslav Assembly, in mid-76.

[Transmission interrupted, initial part of TANJUG part two not received], our market. Lazar Mojsov stressed that moaning and lamentation over the problems confronting us are justified in so much as they serve as incentive to action to speed up efforts for emerging out of the crisis by releasing our working people's arrested energies, observing market laws and restructuring the economy in line with self-management.

Emphasizing that there existed varying views about the possible ways out of the crisis that reflected the differences between the republics and provinces and tendencies within them toward exclusiveness, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency noted that, even if Yugoslavia were not a federation of different nations and nationalities, there would still exist economic differences as a result of the fact that the economic branches were territorially divided. This makes the differences manifest themselves as tendencies to separatism and exclusiveness. This is also behind the rise of nationalism in all environments. In such a situation some economists have even come up with fabricated figures to show how allegedly we were only ahead of Albania in Europe. This is not true and can be refuted. By criticizing every single aspect of our life, we have painted a very bleak picture of ourselves. At the time when other countries are reassessing our concepts of self-management and nonalignment, doubts are being cast on Yugoslavia's commitment to them.

Therefore, it is high time, Mojsov said, that we look at our internal difficulties completely openly and abandon despair and complaints and with a better economic policy, application of economic laws, better organization and more efficient work found a way out of the crisis. We cannot achieve this with a congress, since this would not change the situation overnight. From the point of view of our international position we should not allow ourselves to stress what divides us, rather than what connects us, since it should not be forgotten that to some Yugoslavia in this area still presents a thorn in the eye, because this is a territory in Europe where borders were changed last.

Speaking about the priorities of our foreign policy in contemporary world trends, in particular after the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting, Lazar Mojsov expressed the conviction that for socialist, nonaligned, self-managing Yugoslavia the opportunity is being created to become a factor of balance, as it used to be during the bloc rivalry.

Because of all this, Yugoslavia must remain consistent to the continuity of its foreign policy that it created under Tito's leadership as a socialist and nonaligned country. In order to remain as one of the balancing factors in Europe we must gain time so that, by restructuring the economy, we can ensure stable economic development and a way out of the crisis. In this context it is necessary for us to open up toward Europe, through numerous innovations, joint investments, the importing of foreign capital, the opening of trade zones.

We should also turn toward those developing countries that have potential and ambitions for development. This must be a priority in our diplomatic activity. By strengthening economic ties with the world, increasing exports, economic expansion in cooperation with Europe and in developing countries, Yugoslavia will act as a Balkan, Mediterranean, European and nonaligned country.

Lazar Mojsov expressed optimism that a way will be found out of the crisis, since we have all the conditions for this if we strengthen unity and concentrate on the essential tasks. Any partial or particularistic view clouds the view ahead. It is not a time for this, it is a time for action, concluded president of the SFRY Presidency Lazar Mojsov at a public meeting of the Split City Committee of the Croatian LC.

Serbian Cadre Changes Reported

LD282136 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1159 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Summary] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—At a session today the Assembly of the SR of Serbia adopted a resolution on the Republic's socioeconomic development in 1988. During the debate, delegates endorsed the majority of fundamental orientations and economic policy measures providing for increased social product, industrial production, exports and curbing inflation.

"At today's session, the Serbian Assembly elected Radisa Bogdanovic and Bogoljub Vukovic to be judges of the Republic's constitutional court. Judge Pavle Nikolic was relieved from his duties. By a secret vote, Miodrag Milic was elected member of the Serbian Assembly's delegation to the SFRY Assembly's Chamber of the Republics and Provinces.

"President of the Republic's Committee of Culture, Branislav Milosevic, was released from his post at his own request.

"At a special session this morning, the Sociopolitical Chamber of Serbian Assembly approved the mandate for new members of the chamber: Miodrag Milic, Hanifa Elsani and Borisav Jovic, who were elected in byelections."

LCY CC Presidium Discusses Unity

LD222303 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1817 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Democratic development of policy presents one of the key principles of the life and practice of the LC and the best way to develop unity in assessments, stands, and conclusions of the LCY. Each member has the right to present their view in discussions, as well as the obligation to represent and implement the adopted stands and conclusions. This was stressed today at a session of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, in connection with which the following statement was made:

At a session presided over by Bosko Krunic, the LCY Central Committee Presidium discussed quesions linked to implementation of the stands and conclusions of the 11th LCY Central Committee session. The Presidium established that the debate and stands of the 11th session on the tasks of socioeconomic development, the realization of constitutionality and legality, and the convening and preparing of the LCY conference, on the programs of the work of the Central Committee and the Presidium, and on other questions on the agenda, were met with a large and positive response from the membership, organs, and organizations of the LC and the widest public.

The Presidium believes that today it is most important to direct the strength and activity of the LC, of all of its organizations and leaderships towards the realization, implementation, and creative development of the conclusions and stands of the LCY Central Committee from this session, and that in doing this the application of and respect for the principles of democratic centralism should be prominent.

The Presidium established that the stands and conclusions on the responsibility of Fadilj Hodza met with wide support from the LCY membership and public. However, it was assessed that during debates on this, as well as on the occasion of raising some other questions and proposals at the 11th session, in individual organizations and leaderships of the LC, at some meetings, as well as in information from these meetings and in commentaries published in the public media, there have also been unprincipled reactions, attacks, unsupported criticism, attributing what has not been said, even raising the question of responsibility of individual members of the LCY Central Committee.

To single out and call to account individual LCY Central Committee members for the views they expressed during the debate on the proposed stances and conclusions or in the introductory report at the 11th session of the LCY Central Committee is contrary to the LCY Statute and is also alien to the democratic nature of the LC. This is because developing our policy on democratic principles and freedom to express one's views are among the most important principles of the LC'S practice and the best way to achieve unity of views, stances, and conclusions through the confrontation of views and arguments. Individual members of an LC organization or organ have the right, under the LCY Statute, to put forward their own views and criticism for which they are responsible before the relevant organ and the LC membership as a whole. At the same time, members have the duty to promote and implement adopted stances and conclusions.

In the case of unfounded criticism of and calls for denouncing individuals for what they said at the 11th session of the LCY Central Committee, the issue at stake is not just the one of unprincipled criticism but also of a practice, which, if tolerated and allowed to gain grounds, could prevent the LCY Central Committee, as the highest body between two congresses, from fulfilling its role.

The Presidium wishes to point out that it was unanimous in proposing to the Central Committee the stances and conclusions concerning Fadilj Hodza's responsibility, that its members advocated and voted for their adoption and that by adopting them the Central Committee had displayed a high degree of unity.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium stresses the need for the Central Committee's principal and unanimous messages and decisions to be assessed properly and for an end to insistence, for various reasons and from various quarters, on differences between individual members, and for frequent verbal attacks on them and talks about disunity within the LCY Central Committee to be stopped. The Presidium proceeds from the view that, just like the work of any other LC member or leadership, its work and the work of the Central Committee members should be assessed on the basis of their efforts and concrete contribution to the implementation of the LCY policy, in general, and of the Central Committee's conclusions, in particular, the statement from the Presidium's session stresses.

Orlandic Discusses 'Weaknesses' of LC

LD252355 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1526 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Ivangrad, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Numerous weaknesses present in the LC are the reason why the LCY Central Committee has decided to hold an LCY Conference, whose chief aim is to overcome retrograde tendencies and encourage processes that will open up prospects for surmounting the present crisis. It should be expected that an action program for overcoming the crisis will be produced before the conference, which will contribute to the reaffirmation of the LCY and restore the trust of the broadest masses of working people and citizens in its force, readiness, and ability to be a mobilizing force of society in the permanent processes of differentiation ensuring the cohesion of the SFRY, its internal stability, and favorable international reputation and prestige.

This was stressed by Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee, at today's session of the Ivangrad LC municipal conference.

VJESNIK Views Stambolic Dismissal

AU290956 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 87 p 13

[Mladen Plese commentary: "Departure" carried by Zagreb VJESNIK]

[Text] After the veritable flood of resignations and dismissals that almost inundated our territory and which, judging by everything, the public accepted as a logical consequence in the process of solving our crisis, the first reactions already show that Ivan Stambolic's dismissal from his position as president of the Serbian LC Presidium will be commented on in different ways.

This dismissal, which is practically unprecedented in the speed and efficiency with which it was executed (although today it is really a thankless task to talk about precedents as they are being superseded by the day), is only the expected continuation of the differentiation in the Serbian LC, begun after the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Because of this, Ivan Stambolic's departure from the post of president of the Serbian LC Presidium surprised only the uninformed: after all, the differentiation (as we now call the settling of political accounts) could not be completed until it included—as has been written somewhere—"the president of just a small part of Serbia after the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee."

Like everything that has happened in our largest republic in recent months, this resignation has attracted the attention of the entire Yugoslav public because of several questions that have arisen since the beginning of the differentiation itself. Did Stambolic and friends merely fall in a struggle for power (since the public can hardly perceive the essential political differences between them and those who remain), are they leaving because they were in a minority at the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee, or is it because they supported a policy concerning Kosovo "which offers no quick solution"? Was Ivan Stambolic's "secret letter" to the Belgrade LC City Committee only the occasion for or the actual cause of his fall and was Dragisa Pavlovic's statement to journalists really the key reason for his departure from the political stage?

Time will certainly give the right answers, but one should not wrongly interpret the public's interest in such events: Events in Serbia can in no way remain without a response in Yugoslavia. Already the first reactions to some statements at the 11th session of the LCY Central Committee, such as the calling to account of members of this highest party body only because they expressed their own opinions, right or wrong, without the sort of reservations we are used to hearing in political debates, demonstrate that some tendencies cannot stay only within the framework of one community.

We will not achieve the unity that we need on all levels if we suffocate honest and human communist dialogue: Only in bringing into conflict and synthesizing the most creative, socialistically inclined thoughts and attitudes will we reach a solution that can pull us out of our crisis. Thus, it has once again been shown that respect for constitutionality and legality are methods and ways of work of crucial importance both in the party and in society, and that their role in the democratization of our entire life cannot be viewed as an exclusively formal question.

Perhaps because of all this the suggestion that the retired General Petar Gracanin be nominated as the new president of the Serbian LC Presidium has remained, a little unjustly, in the shade. The standing of this man who has been one of Tito's soldiers all his life, who could directly become acquainted with Tito's vision of a humane, socialist society, as well as his experience as a revolutionary and long-standing party worker will no doubt stabilize the situation in Serbia. For, without a peaceful and stable Serbia there is no strong Yugoslavia.

Expelled LCY Member Sent Books to Trhulj

AU171748 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 87 p 8

[TANJUG report: "He Sent Books to an Enemy"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 12 Dec (TANJUG)—Yesterday's news that Sead Trhulj, the well-known journalist, publicist, writer, and responsible editor of the series "Refleksi", was expelled from the LCY for smuggling books, has been supplemented with new details. It has been established that this former director of the Basic Organization of Associated Labor of the Publishing Department of "Svjetlost" and director of the "Chamber Theater 55", bought a very valuable and rich library from a private supplier in Sarajevo and sent the books to Switzerland, to his uncle, Adil Zulfikarpasic, a notorious enemy of our country.

Serbian SAWP Section on Kraigher, Dragosavac

AU171957 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 87

[Text] The preparations for SAWP elections began with a discussion at a session of the Section for Ideopolitical and Organizational Development of the Serbian SAWP Republican Conference today. Azra Muhefendic reports:

The elections of secretaries and presidents of the SAWP conference are not a technical issue nor a matter of personnel changes. In the atmosphere that arose after the eighth session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia, Lazar Vujovic, president of the section, said in introduction, this business should provide an opportunity for differentiation against all who do not act in conformity with the demands of society and the times and in conformity with the LC policy.

Lazar Vujovic mentioned the latest session of the LCY Central Committee, and particularly the speeches by Dragosavac and Kraigher. If we support differentiation in basic organizations, Lazar Vujovic said, it is incomprehensible that it should be absent in the Central Committee.

Mile Ivic also spoke about responsibility. We are not in favor of people being penalized for words uttered in public, Ivic said, but it cannot be tolerated that speeches like those of Dragosavac, Kraigher, and Nandor Major, are made from the LCY Central Committee rostrum. The fact that Major said that he spoke in the name of some of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee members, I interpret as meaning a federalization of the party, Mile Ivic said.

Stanimir Stamenkovic proposed that in the preparations for elections, the SAWP should decide to which functions candidates should be elected by secret ballot. He also said that candidates should be discussed primarily in the communities from which they hail.

Tihomir Milosevic pleaded that selection should be made among several delegates publicly, without any cadre combinations in small groups, as he put it.

The section at its session adopted the proposal that elections in local communities be carried out by April next year, in commuinal conference by May, in intercommunal conferences and the Belgrade City Conference by mid-June, and the president and the secretary of the Republican Conference of the SAWP of Serbia be elected by the end of June 1988 at the latest.

Mojsov Gives Army Day Gun Salute Order

AU231538 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 87 p 1

["On the Occasion of the Yugoslav People's Army Day, the Order from the SFRY Presidency"]

[Text] Belgrade, 20 Dec (TANJUG)—On the occasion of the Yugoslav People's Army Day, the SFRY Presidency gave the following order:

"In honor of the Yugoslav People's Army Day, 22 December, a 15-gun salute will be fired from 24 field pieces in the SFRY capital, Belgrade on the 21 December, and a 10-gun salute from 12 field pieces in the capitals of the socialistic republics." [signed] Lazar Mojsov, President of the SFRY Presidency.

Mojsov Meets With National Defense Council

LD282108 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1433 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—A session was held in Belgrade today of the Council for National Defense of the SFRY Presidency. The session was chaired by the council's Chairman Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency.

The council is reported to have discussed the situation in and topical issues of defense preparations within the sphere of information-propaganda activity. To enhance its capacity to function in an eventual all-people's defense war, it is necessary to speed up efforts to resolve the existing problems of organization and cadres, as well as those of a material-technical nature.

The council also considered ways of supplying food to the mountainous and hilly regions in an all-people's defense war, and in particular, measures for advancing agricultural production and animal husbandry which, at the same time, will help to speed up the overall socio-economic development of this area of great importance for defense preparations, in general.

The council was briefed about the course of the implementation, so far, of the SFRY Presidency's stances and conclusions dealing with the topical issues of preparing and engaging the country's human potential for an all-people's defense war. It was stressed that significant results have been achieved in this sphere and a number of initiatives set in motion, but that there is still need for engaging professional bodies and all other subjects of all-people's defense in a more organized and committed manner.

'Negative' Foreign Reporting Noted

LD282055 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1846 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Text] Zagreb, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—It is nothing new to see foreign news agencies, reporting from our country, sending news with negative tendencies and dimensions alone, a VJESNIK commentator says in a commentary to be published in the 29 December issue, adding that it was therefore no coincidence that the report by Fleet Admiral Branko Mamula, federal secretary for foreign affairs, was used for identical or similar purposes.

Speeches by the federal secretary for national defense have always been received with great attention by both the Yugoslav and foreign publics and especially in recent times because of the economic and political crisis in the country and its possible implications for the country's defense capability. The federal secretary's recent speech to the SFRY Assembly's delegates was given a prominent position in reports by all leading world news agencies, but it was surprising to see that the accent was placed on that part of his speech that referred to the negative aspects of the international military-political situation with speculation about the possibility of foreign intervention against Yugoslavia.

On the basis of such news, the foreign publics could have gained a false impression of some kind of Yugoslav obsession with foreign intervention, despite the fact that the federal secretary for national defense did not say a single word about the possibility of external aggression against the SFRY at this moment.

On the contrary, Admiral of the Fleet Branko Mamula stressed in his statement the importance of the recent meeting between the leaders of the two superpowers, and expressed the hope that the climate created in their mutual relations would also have a favorable effect on the negotiations on reducing strategic nuclear arms.

As the federal secretary for national defense stressed, Yugoslavia attempts to offer the greatest possible contribution to the overcoming of contradictions and the strengthening of security in the Balkan region.

The fact that some of the world's agencies one-sidedly and tendentiously commented on parts of his statement is above all a reflection of their understanding of what is news. When it is Yugoslavia that is in question this has lately become symptomatic.

Press Handling of Kosovo Issues Criticized

AU161712 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 12 Dec 87 p 6

[G.B. and V.S. report on press conference held by Remzi Koljgeci, member of the Kosovo LC Presidium, in Pristina on 11 December: "Nationalism Cannot Be Put in Two Compartments"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] On the basis of the information we have obtained from every commune, we can conclude in general that the Kosovo Presidency and LC Presidium assessments of slogans shouted at demonstrations have been accepted. The majority of basic LC organizations have expressed satisfaction that a clear line of demarcation has been drawn between reasonable grievances and manipulation concealing nationalist tendencies. They were also entirely supported in the Pristina party organization too, which has 750 basic organizations, except for in one area (Kosovo Polje) where there were some discussions proposing additions to the assessments. Some individuals even publicly expressed the opinion that the Presidium and the Presidency wished to show signs of equating the Albanian nationalist demonstrations of 1981 with recent gatherings and with the women's demonstrations in Pristina following Fadilj Hodza's now well-known statement. It is obvious that such an equation shows a tendentiousness that would cause even greater tension and is a malevolent distortion of the reasons why these assessments were made. These same individuals, who must be mentioned because of their destructive activity and their attempts to manipulate the broad masses, have also interpreted in a malevolent way the section of the assessment dealing with the interpretation of slogans. There were also people who, either because they were insufficiently informed or because they failed to understand the purpose of the Presidency and Presidium assessments, proposed revisions or sought further elucidation. Remzi Koljgeci said that political activists in the field, as well as journalists, must help these latter persons, so that they will understand the truth of the matter. We will all work more on this issue. However, the opinions of individuals in a few basic LC organizations cannot call into question those of the people of more than 750 basic LC organizations in Pristina, and those of the entire Kosovo LC. Nor can they cast doubt on the assessments of the Kosovo LC Presidium and the Kosovo Presidency.

Even though demands for further explanation did not predominate in the basic LC organizations, and even though the assessment of the slogan "We want freedom!" was not not consciously distorted, it has been possible to gain the impression from the media that the viewpoint on the unacceptable import of this slogan in certain circumstances has not been supported. The main point is that there has been wide and regular reportage only of those basic organizations in which opinions were stated against supporting the assessments. A number of journalists have added to this atmosphere of resistance by not defining their position in relation to such phenomena, and so have a number of editorial boards, by failing to make efforts to publish commentaries and signed articles presenting the assessments in their entirety. (Positive examples have been shown by the commentaries of JEDINSTVO, BORBA, RILINDJA, Pristina Radio and Television, and VJESNIK.)

The kernel of this assessment is that the slogan "We want freedom!" is in essence a freedom-loving slogan, and the Presidium and the Presidency did not contest this. However, in certain circumstances it can assume a different and unacceptable import, especially when the slogan "We want freedom or military rule!" is added to it. The media could have helped people to understand the essence of the assessment of this slogan correctly, in such a way that those who were at the scene of the events can understand that this was not an instance of the freedom-loving and revolutionary slogan "We want freedom!" which we would all, of course, shout together should the need arise. The assessments of the slogan "We want freedom!" by the Kosovo LC Presidium and the Kosovo Presidency are clear, and distortions of them cannot be accepted. [passage omitted]

The assessments of the Presidium and the Presidency were not delivered to the membership for analysis and revision. They must serve the purpose for which they were approved. They must be understood as an aspect of the realization of the conclusions of the LCY Central Committee 9th plenum, because these conclusions are in the spirit of the LCY Central Committee 9th plenum, the LC of Serbia Central Committee 6th plenum, and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee 10th plenum. Above all, they must help people to define their position on events and individuals that sought to denigrate all we have achieved up to now in stabilizing the situation in Kosovo, especially in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism. But nationalism cannot be combated with nationalism. We need a real desire to live together in peace, so that problems may be solved within the framework of the institutions of the system. [passage omitted]

In talking about the unconstructive part played by some of the media, Remzi Koljgeci mentioned some articles published in POLITIKA. Some articles have written generally about the resistance of some Kosovo Polje organizations to the Presidency and Presidium assessments, while keeping silent about the overwhelming support given to the conclusions by organizations in Pristina and beyond. They have even recently given wide publicity to an LC organization with six members in Gracanica, and have not mentioned the activity of the Pristina LC and the Kosovo LC.

Similarly, one must ask the question of who needed the publication of Batric Jovanovic's letter in the correspondence column, in which he attempted to resist the stands of the top national leadership on the appearance and use of the flags of Albanian and Turkish nationalities. Remzi Koljgeci said that all these distortions, and not only those of this newspaper, must be more widely discussed. [passage omitted]

Serbia Adopts Plan To Save Steel Company

LD260018 Belgrade TANJUG in English
2248 GMT 25 Dec 87

[By Radmila Gabric]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 25 (TANJUG)—The assembly of the Republic of Serbia today approved a program of financial recovery, consolidation and further construction of the integrated-steel producer Metalurski Kombinat Smederevo (MKS), one of the country's largest debtors and loss-making firms.

Delegates from Yugoslavia's biggest Republic made the decision after hearing a Serbian Government report warning that a possible shutdown of the works at Smederevo, some 40 km east of Belgrade, would seriously affect the Republic's entire economy. The recovery program and the next stage of the project, launched 24 years ago, would cost about one billion dollars, to be provided jointly by the Republic, Investbanka of Belgrade and 85 business partners of MKS.

The Serbian Government, which proposed the program, argues that the metalworks' estimated output of one million 40,000 tons of steel in 1993, will finally enable it to operate without losses and pay back its debts.

This year's losses are estimated at 90 million dollars. Moreover, the "sick giant on the Danube" owes 1.5 billion dollars to foreign creditors (half of Serbia's total foreign debt) and another 150 million to Yugoslav banks.

Analyses have shown that Smederevo's products are marketable and that their major buyers would be the automobile industry and manufacturers which use white tins, the government report says. The government maintains that by increasing productivity and business efficiency, the complex would reduce its workforce from 11,000 to 8,000 by 1993.

By voting for the recovery program and further construction of MKS, the delegates in fact chose the "lesser of two evils."

Ending the project at this stage would make 180 million dollars' worth of equipment useless, while another 850 million dollars would have to be allocated for steel imports during the recovery period.

The other option, i.e. declaration of bankruptcy, would result in direct costs of 1.6 billion dollars, cut back the social product by one billion dollars and leave 1.5 billion dollars in unpaid foreign debts. Bankruptcy would mean a loss of three billion dollars' worth of metallurgical products until 1993, products which would have to be imported. On top of everything, this would increase unemployment by 11,000 while jeopardizing the jobs of 40,000 people in Serbia and another 100,000 throughout Yugoslavia, in firms which buy MKS products or act as its supplier.

The reasons why MKS is a major debtor and loss-making firm primarily lie in the fact that its construction lasted too long because of inadequate, irregular and unfavourable financing, and that the utilization of its capacities is very low.

Basic industrial facilities require extensive financing and their construction is subsidized everywhere in the world. However, Serbia's biggest investment project has a completely different financing scheme—85 percent of the funds was obtained as foreign credits under unfavourable repayment terms and interests. The republic provided a mere eight percent, and the complex itself the remaining seven percent.

On September 1 this year Metalurski Kombinat Smederevo was placed into receivership which has already resulted in an increase in output and exports.

Further Reportage on Labor Relations

Ljubljana Teachers Strike

LD260946 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 25 Dec 87

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Professors, assistants, and other workers at the electrotechnical faculty in Ljubljana today stopped work as a sign of protest at the general social and economic crisis and the position of the higher educational institutions. After giving lectures for 15 minutes, the professors and assistants at the faculty announced that they will no longer hold classes because they are dissatisfied with the evermore pronounced state of crisis in the country and with the failure to implement the agreed guidelines for overcoming the problems and improving the material position of the faculty. They also expressed dissatisfaction with their personal incomes.

They sent a request to the sociopolitical organizations in Slovenia that they take the necessary measures to truly change the current socioeconomic situation and position of workers in higher educational institutions. After talks between representatives of the faculty and the rector of Ljubljana's Edvard Kardelj University, it was stated that regular work at the electrotechnical faculty in Ljubljana will be continued on Monday and everything possible will be done to remove the accumulated problems at this faculty.

Bihac Primary Teachers Strike

LD242303 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1211 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] Bihac, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—This morning, the 40-member staff of the Mosa Pijade grammer school of Bihac decided to go on strike, which meant that 400 school children had to be sent home. The strike was started in protest over unpaid November salaries and uncertainty over the future financing of the school. The decision to stop work was passed at a meeting of the school's staff last night. A meeting of representatives from all secondary schools in the region was held in Bihac this morning. The discussion concentrated on the very unfavorable, even dramatic situation in the region's secondary education, which has deteriorated considerably following the Agrokomerc affair.

Velika Kladusa Strike Continues

LD242255 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1223 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] Velika Kladusa, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The teachers of the 9 May primary school near Velika Kladusa today continued the strike begun yesterday. This morning they demanded to be paid this month's salary as well as November's. Over 1,000 pupils of this school are unable to attend classes for the time being. Since the outbreak of the Agrokomerc affair, 70 educational workers have left schools on the territory of the Velika Kladusa municipality, mainly because of a lack of funds. This has led this municipality into an exceptionally difficult situation.

Strike at Slavnic Works Ends

LD222235 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 22 Dec 87

[Summary] Kopar, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—A strike by 300 drivers, mechanics, and other workers at the Slavnik work organization in Kopar that began last night at about 2300, ended this evening at about 1700. The main demand of the workers was for a basic salary of 450,000 dinars instead of the present 200,000 dinars. The workers refused to accept the decisions of a meeting of the Workers' Council held today, and an extraordinary session of the Executive Council of the Kopar Municipal Assembly was held this afternoon because of the critical situation. A delegation of 20 strikers attended the session, which, after 2 hours of discussion accepted the workers' demand to replace the management of Slavnik and to put the work organization into receivership, which will probably be decided upon by the delegates of the Kopar Municipal Assembly as early as Monday.

The strikers delegation accepted the proposal that the value of remuneration points for personal incomes should be increased by 20 percent and that the regulation on earnings, which is at present unjust and does not act as a stimulus, should be changed.

Fire Clay Factory Workers Strike

LD281740 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 28 Dec 87

[Summary] Aramdkelovac, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—Last Friday 40 workers from the first shift in the fire clay factory in Arandjelovac started a strike that was continued by the workers from the second shift. Today the workers held meetings in connection with the srike, at which they demanded that their personal incomes should be increased, administration staff reduced and that buyers of their products should repay the money they owe to the factory. No more information is available about the strike and its causes since journalists were not allowed into the factory this morning.

Banja Luka Bus Drivers End Strike

LD242251 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] Banja Luka, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—After a 3-day strike, about 100 drivers of the city transport basic organization of associated labor, part of the Autoprevoz work organization from Banja Luka, resumed work, although their demand for a pay rise from 152,435 to 350,000 dinars was not met.

It was agreed that a referendum would be held concerning the regulations for the distribution of personal incomes on 15 January.

Tractor Workers Hold Conference

AU242045 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Dec 87

[Text] The patience of a great number of workers is running out because their problems are slow in being solved. This was said loudly and clearly at the Trade Union election conference at the IMT Tractor Plant in New Belgrade. The gathering was also attended by Zvonimir Hrabar, president of the Yugoslav TU leadership. Here is a report by Aleksandar Ljubicic:

On this occasion, the tractor makers repeated the demand they had addressed to all sociopolitical organizations ranging from the commune to the federation, but to which they have received no reply. The essence is the following: This collective, with more than 10,000 workers, is improving its operations and exports, but the workers' life is deteriorating. They ask where the income that they have created has gone. Unless they get an answer supported by arguments, they will again stop the machines, if necessary, as many workers do to get what they have earned, Dusan Besanic warned.

[Begin Besanic recording] We simply demand, we request that what has been called the obstacle be removed, that the obstacles to a proper and better functioning of the economy be removed. We have simply set a deadline for our requests, after which we will (?intervene most energetically). This is simply a situation in which there can be no excuses, no tactical moves.

It is obvious that nobody listens to the workers class in this country. It means: We set a deadline, after which we must take specific action so that we may get what, in fact, everybody avoids giving the workers class. We know that nobody who has power in his hands has ever voluntarily renounced his privileges in any society or any political system. Experience shows that this has not happened in our country, either. [end recording]

Zvonimir Hrabar, president of the Yugoslav Trade Unions, said that we are all aware of the situation in which we live, and that the charge of the Trade Union members is primarily intended to accelerate the change of the situation.

[Begin Hrabar recording] I (?do not like to speak about) the situation, but I must say something regarding this. We face a crisis—and this is where we must start from—which has three significant traits:

It is economic, and has all its effects on what is going on, most drastically reflected in the standard of living of the working man.

Second, it is a crisis of the functioning of the political system, and within it broaches many questions to which answers must be sought, but not for as long a time as we have been seeking them. It should not go on for such a long time, because we are inefficient in seeking solutions. In this inefficiency, demands, strivings, and desires appear, motivated by good intentions, that we should solve some matters in a hurry. Certain proposals were made in this regard this evening. I would rather recommend that we demand solutions energetically, in a combative and workers' spirit, but not outside our system. [no third point mentioned] [end recording]